Volume 24, No. 2 Autumn Number, 1935

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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Communications on general Association matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, Friends' Historical Association, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; manuscripts submitted for publication, and communications on editorial matters, should be addressed to Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Editor, Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association, 226 Dickinson Ave., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

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MEMBERSHIP

Any person, whether or not a member of the Society of Friends, who is interested in the purposes of the ASSOCIATION, is eligible for membership. Applications should be sent to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, John W. Cadbury, Jr., Moorestown, New Jersey. Members are especially urged to invite their friends to join, and, in case of their assent, to send their names as nominations to the Membership Committee.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

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THE ANNUAL MEETING OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1935

Friends' Historical Association held its annual meeting at the Friends' Select School, Seventeenth and Parkway, Philadelphia, on the evening of Second-day, Eleventh month 25, 1935. Charles Francis Jenkins, President of the Association, presided at the business meeting. The annual reports of the President and Treasurer were given, and Directors of the Association were elected for the ensuing year as shown on the opposite page. Charles Francis Jenkins, Vice-President from 1923 to 1928, and President from 1928 to 1935, asked to be excused from further service on the Board of Directors, and William I. Hull was elected to fill the vacancy.

The President's report referred to the spring meeting of the Association at Marshallton, Pennsylvania, a brief account of which was printed in the spring number of the *Bulletin;* to the election of William Penn to the Hall of Fame at New York University; and to the commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the arrival of William Bradford in America.

The Curator, Lydia Flagg Gummere, reported that the Aimwell School had been laid down, and that the records of the School had been presented to FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, consisting of the charter, the minute books, the official seal, and other papers, all filed in a mahogany box.

The address of the evening was by Mr. Fred J. Cooper, on "Time and Timepieces," illustrated by many ancient clocks and watches which were on exhibition. After this address the meeting enjoyed a collation; and the new Board of Directors, meeting for organization, elected officers for the year, William Wistar Comfort succeeding Charles Francis Jenkins as President.

MARCELLUS BALDERSTON

The *Evening Public Ledger* of November 11, 1935, reports the death on November 9, 1935, of Marcellus Balderston, at the age of ninety-three, for many years a minister of the Arch Street Meeting. He died at the home of his brother-in-law, Dr. Thomas S. Dunning, 1328 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia.

With his death the Honorary Treasurer of the Friends' Historical Association, James H. Atkinson, becomes the sole survivor of the original Friends' Historical Association, founded in 1873, with which the Friends' Historical Society, founded in 1904 under the leadershp of Isaac Sharpless, merged in 1923.

An account of the founding of the two organizations, and of their merging on the fiftieth anniversary of the older one, is contained in Vol. 13 (1924), No. 1, of the *Bulletin.*

ALBERT COOK MYERS.

THE DISOWNMENT OF JOHN BARTRAM

A reference to John Bartram's case of disownment (treated fully in the *Bulletin* 17 (1928) : 16ff) occurs without mention of his name in the *Account of the Gospel Labours . . . of . . . John Churchman* (Philadelphia, 1779, p. 190; London, 1781, p. 260) :

> On fourth day returned to Darby, to their monthly meeting; where we found friends under a strait about disowning one among them who denied the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, on whom they had bestowed much labour to convince him of his error: the meeting ended well, the company of friends who attended it being acceptable, and of service.

From John Churchman's Journal it is possible to fix the date as Twelfth Month 7, 1757, which coincides with the date of the meeting at which a definite decision was made to disown John Bartram. A whole line in the minute as printed in the *Bulletin* has been missed out by error. The passage for this date should read:

> [The Friends who visited him reported] that he did not seem in any disposition of mind to condemn his contrary belief to ours respecting Jesus Christ but still persists therein so far as to say the longer he lives the stronger he is in the Disbelief of the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Therefore this meeting appoints Thomas Canby and William Horne to Draw a Testification against him . . .

HENRY J. CADBURY.

SOME OLD QUAKER HOUSES IN THE PHILADELPHIA NEIGHBORHOOD

By Horace Mather Lippincott [1]

"Words," says Dr. Samuel Johnson in the preface to his dictionary, "are the daughters of earth, but the things they stand for are the sons of heaven." So the quaint and beautiful old houses in and about Philadelphia must be visited to be appreciated and the printed word can but inadequately bring their charm and inspiration to the reader. Hereabout there are more of these ancient structures preserved in good condition than perhaps can be found in any other quarter of America. This is surely true as regards their diversity and quality. Houses, like men, have personality; and what characteristic can be more impressive? They reflect the taste and substance of their owners, and their stories are ofttimes the history of the community.

Philadelphia's houses of the early times are as substantial as their builders and while many of them, owing to their Quaker owners, lack the ornament of the pretentious homes of the South, yet their very simplicity, comfort, and exquisite proportions bring a sense of beauty that is unsurpassed elsewhere. There is always a balance and lack of over-elaboration that comes with these qualities, which is particularly satisfying as a daily experience.

At 322 DeLancey Street is the old Evans house, typical of the "plain Friend's" residence of olden time. The Evans family came from Wales in 1698 to Gwynedd, about twenty miles from the City, and the original farm is owned and lived upon today by Horace and Gwendolen Evans, direct in descent. Jonathan Evans, a grandson of the emigrant, moved to Philadelphia and built the DeLancey Street house. He became a leader among the Quakers and was the most prominent figure in the Separation of 1827, which divided the Society into "Orthodox" and "Hicksite" Friends. Many of the conferences of that bitter time were held in the old house.

The *Powel House* at 244 South Third Street was built by Samuel Powel, who was the grandson of one of like name who

[1] A paper read at the Annual Meeting of Friends' Historical Association in Twelfth Street Meeting House, Philadelphia, 26th of Eleventh Month, 1934.

came to Philadelphia in 1685 and was a member of the Society of Friends. It is a particularly spacious house and was of elegant construction. One of the rooms has been removed to the Metropolitan Museum in New York City, and another to our own Art Museum. The house has been purchased and partially restored by our Society for the Preservation of Historic Landmarks. Mr. Powel was well connected and socially prominent. He became Mayor of the City and a distinguished patriot. During the British occupation the Earl of Carlisle had his quarters in Mr. Powel's house and during Washington's Presidency the house was the scene of many social gatherings attended by the President. John Adams, who could always be trusted to duly chronicle anything that tickled his palate, licks his chops, so to speak, in his diary over Mayor Powel's dinners. Here is one of his entries:

> September 8, Thursday.—Dined at Mr. Powel's with ——— and many others; a most sinful feast again! everything which could delight the eye or allure the taste; curds and creams, jellies, sweetmeats of various sorts, twenty sorts of tarts, fools, trifles, floating islands, whipped sillibub, etc., etc. Parmesan cheese, punch, wine, porter, beer, etc.

Samuel succumbed to the allurements of the world, left Friends and became a member of St. Peter's parish.

Ormiston, on the verge of a deep glen that separates it from Laurel Hill, is a square rough-cast building of two stories and a hipped roof, substantial and comfortable but without much architectural pretension. Its principal charm is its site overlooking the river far below. There are broad porches on both the land and river fronts, and in the days when its condition was properly kept up, it must have been a delightful place to pass the summer months.

Towards the end of the Colonial period it was the home of Joseph Galloway, an eminent lawyer and one of the most distinguished Loyalists. He was born at West River in Maryland, in 1731, but came to Philadelphia at an early age. In 1748 he was elected a member of the Colony in Schuylkill. While still a young man he attained great distinction in the law and was held an authority in all matters touching real estate. He was the intimate friend of Benjamin Franklin, and when the latter went to England in 1764 he placed his valuable papers and letter books

in Galloway's hands for safekeeping. In 1757 he was elected to the Assembly, and from 1766 to 1774 was speaker of that body, being usually elected by unanimous vote. In 1753 he married Grace Growdon, the daughter of Laurence Growdon, of Trevose.

After serving in the Congress of 1775 he withdrew from politics. Doctor Franklin then sought to induce him to espouse the cause of independence but he could not conscientiously do so, and in December, 1776, joined General Howe and accompanied the British Army. During the British occupation of Phiadelphia, at the request of General Howe, he assumed the duties of Superintendent-General of Police and Superintendent of the Port, being assisted by his friend and neighbor, Samuel Shoemaker.

After the British evacuated Philadelphia, Galloway was attainted of high treason and his estate adjudged confiscate. Mrs. Galloway, in order to protect her property, remained at Ormiston until she was forcibly ejected by the commissioners in charge of confiscated estates. In this connection the great Charles Wilson Peale does not appear in an amiable light. He was one of the commissioners and he it was who ran Mrs. Galloway out by the shoulders, forcing her from her home and into Benedict Arnold's coach—he was then a near neighbor and had not yet fallen into disgrace—which was waiting at the door to convey her away.

Ormiston, along with all the neighboring seats, is now a part of our famous "Colonial Chain" in Fairmount Park.

Descending the Schuylkill, we find a Colonial seat of interest on the right bank of the river below the Woodlands known as the *Bartram House* which, with the surrounding gardens, the City now owns. The Lower Ferry or Gray's Ferry (it was known by both names) was originally the means by which all southern and western travel entered the City so that it was an extremely important place. Just south of this spot, in 1728, John Bartram bought a tract of land afterward to become famous as a botanical garden. On this farm was a small house dating from Swedish times but insufficient, presumably, for the needs of Bartram; for in 1730 he began to build what may be considered the main portion of the house and finished it in 1731, perpetu-

ating the date of its completion by setting a stone in the gable bearing the inscription:

MAY GOD SAVE
JOHN AND ANN BARTRAM, 1731

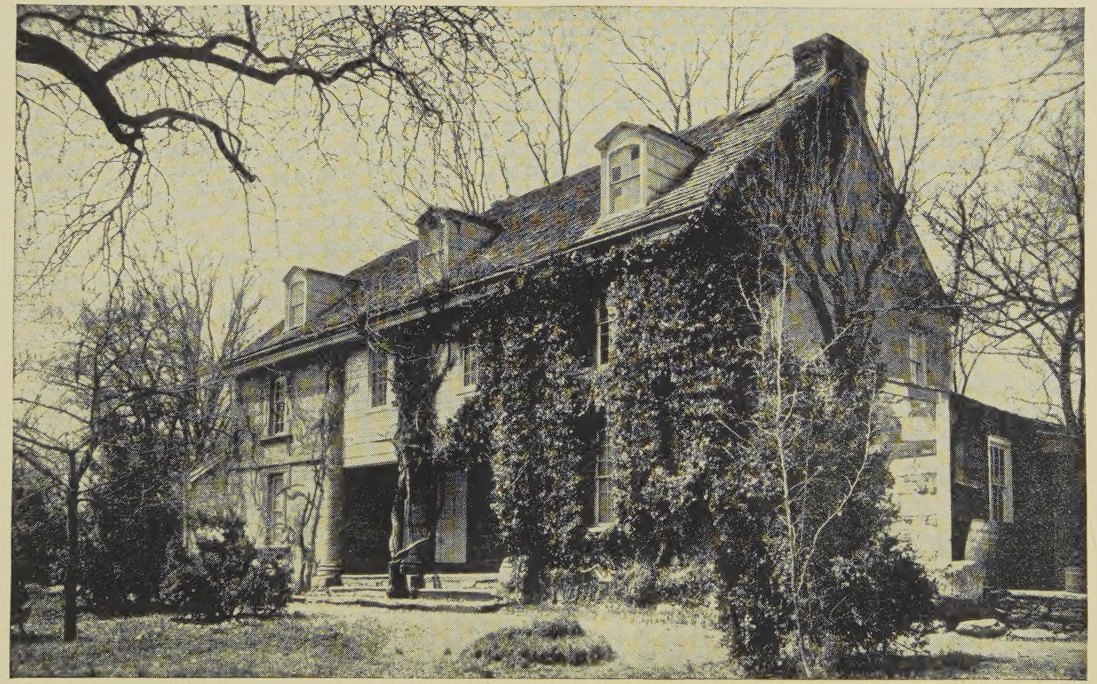
That he actually labored on the walls with his own hands is, perhaps, too much to say positively, but at any rate tradition, and seemingly reliable tradition at that, has it that he did. Of the many successive alterations and additions the house has undergone and of which it shows more traces inside than out, it appears that the last must have been made somewhere near 1770, at which time he placed a carven stone above the study window bearing the inscription:

It is God alone almyty Lord
The holy One by me ador'd.
John Bartram, 1770.

The Bartram House, like the Woodlands, though by no means so pretentious, has interesting fronts both east and west. The east or river front with its great roughly hewn stones, its rude pillars, its clustering ivy, and the rose vines by the windows, has an air of mingled refinement and rusticity, a strange combination of simplicity and stateliness. There is nothing quite like it anywhere else. The main entrance is on the west by a trellis-shaded doorway at each side of which are little Dutch seats.

Within the house discloses no particular plan, as indeed it could scarcely be expected to since it has grown through so many years by capricious additions, made when divers occasions and times demanded. In the space it affords without appearing spacious, and in the unexpected way that rooms multiply, it is not unlike some of the old Dutch houses of the Hudson.

The story is told of Bartram that one day as he was plowing he stopped to rest in the shade of a tree. By chance he plucked a daisy as he sat there and musing upon its structure was impelled to learn something concerning its history, habits, and uses. From this small beginning came the impulse that spurred him to the studies and investigations that placed him in the foremost rank of botanists. Ordinarily in the autumn, when he could spare the time from his farm labors, Bartram traveled extensively in the Colonies gathering specimen plants.



The Bartram House, on the Schuylkill, West Philadelphia

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The letters of John Adams to his wife are enthusiastic in describing the luxurious living prevalent among the "Nobles of Pennsylvania"; but among his gossipy references to the people he meets and their bounteous entertainments no better observation is recorded than that he has found "high thinking" here which is better than high living. The best example of this feature of Philadelphia life is found in the notable gathering at the corner Fourth Street and Prune Street, now Locust, under the hospitable roof of Dr. Caspar Wistar. These represented the genial and social side of learning. The house, which has been restored within and without to much of its original beauty, was built about 1750 and lived in for a time by Dr. William Shippen, perhaps the most talented member of his family. His marriage to Alice Lee, daughter of Thomas Lee of Virginia, was one of the many connections between the Colonial families of Philadelphia and the county families of Virginia and Maryland, and made his house the center for the Virginia aristocrats visiting Philadelphia.

In 1799 Dr. Caspar Wistar moved from High Street near Fourth to Fourth and Prune Streets and continued to live there until his death in 1818. Dr. Wistar was a very busy man, having an extensive practice and a chair at the University. His unusual traits of character and his genius for intellectual leadership made him an object of affectionate homage by his friends who loved to enjoy the hospitable moments of his leisure time. As these were necessarily limited, the custom was formed of dropping in on him on Sunday evenings when they were pretty sure of finding him at home. As the years passed these weekly gatherings became one of Philadelphia's most cherished institutions, the same group of friends meeting week after week. They included most Philadelphians of distinction, and as all strangers of note were introduced into this circle of choice spirits, it became the center of the literary and scientific society of the City. Dr. Wistar's close association with the American Philosophical Society made his house the rallying point of the learned world and, in time, there came to be an approximate identity between the smaller body for social intercourse and that of the larger and world-famous body.

The entertainment was simple, consisting of wine and cake, tea and coffee, as Dr. Wistar's idea was an intellectual rather than a convivial gathering. The table was seldom spread. In 1811 the night of the meeting was changed from Sunday to Saturday evening and ice cream, raisins, and almonds were added to the refreshments. Terrapin, oysters, and other delicacies were introduced later. The guests ranged from ten to fifty in number and the regular habitués had the privilege of bringing whom they would. Invitations began in October or November and continued to be sent out until April, gathering the best the new-world civilization could produce of talent, learning, courtly grace, and good breeding. Some of the most notable visitors were Baron von Humboldt, the naturalist; Bonpland, the botanist; the witty Abbé Correa de Serra; Mr. Samuel Breck, of Boston; Dr. John W. Francis, of New York; Robert Walsh, Joseph Hopkinson, Nicholas Biddle, Dr. Nathaniel Chapman and the older physicians; Dr. Benjamin Rush, the many-sided, who "belonged to humanity"; Dr. Adam Kuhn, both the William Shippens, father and son, eminent physicians practicing at the same time, and the peaceful Dr. Griffitts; Mr. William Rawle, lawyer and theologian; Chief Justice William Tilghman, whose biographical sketch of Dr. Wistar survives; George Clymer, statesman and patriot; Peter Du Ponceau, the Moravian missionary, John Heckewelder and the Unitarian philanthropist John Vaughan at the extremes of doctrine; and a host of other celebrities, whose names are a sufficient guarantee of the brilliance of these gatherings. Several, including Thackeray, have recorded in print their impressions of the wit and wisdom of the group.

Dr. Wistar's fame does not, however, rest upon the Wistar parties. He had studied medicine at Edinburgh and was a professor in the University, a teacher, physician, man of science, and the author of the first American treatise on anatomy. His demeanor was dignified, modest, and courteous, and he was ardent in inciting the members of the Philosophical Society, while he was its president, to collect the materials of American history before it was too late. He made the work of its committee so interesting by his own anecdotes that they sat long into the night listening to him.

Above: The Evans House, 322 Delancey Street.

Right: Stenton, Germantown.

Below: The Wistar House, Fourth and Locust Streets.

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ys and Boulevards in and about Historic Philadelphia.

When Dr. Wistar died in 1818 a few of his more intimate friends determined to continue their pleasant association and formed an organization which they called the "Wistar Parties" with membership in the Philosophical Society, and a unanimous vote requisite for joining. Three parties a year were held until the Civil War broke up for a time the wholesome conviviality. Members were selected for their attainments and twenty Philadelphians were permitted as guests with no limit to strangers. Attendance was punctual at eight o'clock and the entertainment remained simple and unostentatious.

In 1835 Job R. Tyson bought Dr. Wistar's old house and once more it was opened to the learned and jovial brotherhood, the meetings being held in rotation at the houses of the members.

In the early part of the eighteenth century Philadelphia was better known abroad than any other American city, and all travelers of consequence came to it. These were entertained, if fortunately near by, at the Wistar Parties; and we find such names as General Moreau, the younger Murat, the Marquis de Grouchy, the poet Moore, Prince de Canine (son-in-law of Joseph Bonaparte), President Madison, the diplomat William Short (representative of the United States to France, Spain, and the Netherlands), the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, President John Quincy Adams, Thackeray, Mr. Pedersen (minister from Denmark), Colonel Beckwith, and several French chevaliers.

Upon one occasion the whole company of about one hundred were regaled with chicken salad, oysters, ices, wine, punch, and the like at an expense of $24.87, including the whiskey for the punch, spermaceti candles, oil for the lamps, and an extra fire in one room.

Written invitations were used until 1835 when Mr. Vaughan speaks of the engraved card similar to the one used today with the quaint, queued head of Dr. Wistar upon it. The gatherings continued in brilliancy with such citizens present as Roberts Vaux, Mathew Carey and his son Henry C. (political economists), Joseph Hopkinson, the elder Peale, Dr. Frederick Beasley (Provost of the University), Dr. Robert M. Patterson, Robert Walsh, Horace Binney, William M. Meredith, John Sergeant, Joshua Francis Fisher, Judge Kane, Langdon Cheves, Thomas

Wharton, Dr. Robert Hare, Dr. Thomas C. James, Dr. John K. Mitchell, Dr. Isaac Hays, Dr. Franklin Bache, Dr. George B. Wood, Dr. Charles Meigs, Moncure Robinson, and Dr. Isaac Lea.

It was not until 1886 that the scattered members resumed the Wistar Parties, loyally adhering to ancient traditions, except perhaps in the simplicity of the repast. The same kind of men are still pleasantly mingling in intellectual fellowship at the fireside of some good old Philadelphian of attainment.

Number 336 Spruce Street stands on what was originally the "Old Alms House Square," deeded July 6, 1767, by the Mayor and Commonalty of Philadelphia to the Contributors for the Relief and Employment of the Poor, and bounded by Third, Pine, Fourth, and Spruce Streets, three hundred and ninety-six feet broad and four hundred and sixty-eight feet long. April 23, 1772, these deeded it to Edward Shippen. It was broken up and came through various hands to Samuel Pancoast, January 1, 1796. Samuel Pancoast, "House Carpenter," was of Mansfield Township, Burlington County, New Jersey, and it was he who built the brick house then numbered 130. On January 14, 1796, he conveyed it to Mordecai Lewis. Mordecai Lewis was descended from William Lewis of Glamorganshire, South Wales, who came to Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1686, where he resided until 1707. His son Evan was a prominent Friend and served in the Provincial Assembly from Chester from 1706 to 1719. Evan's younger son, Jonathan, removed to Philadelphia in 1747 and married Rachel, daughter of John Breintnall. Mordecai Lewis was the only son of this union and was a proficient student of the classics and a prominent merchant of the city. He was first a member of the firm of Neave, Harman, & Lewis, shipowners and importers, then with Harman & Lewis, and finally with Mordecai Lewis & Company, composed of William Bingham and himself, until William Bingham withdrew in 1794. They owned seven ships in the East Indian trade and did a large business. Mordecai Lewis's name appeared on much of the continental currency issued by Congress in 1776. He was a member of the volunteer military company but never saw active service. His integrity and ability caused him to be chosen a director of the Bank of North America, the Philadelphia

Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire, and the Philadelphia Library, and treasurer of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

The Philadelphia Contributionship is an ancient institution formed in April, 1752, by John Smith, Benjamin Franklin, Philip Syng, Samuel Rhoads, Hugh Roberts, Israel Pemberton, Jr., John Mifflin, and Joseph Morris. The announcement was as follows:

> Notice is hereby given, That the INSURANCE OFFICE for Shipping and Houses is kept by Joseph Saunders at his House where Israel Pemberton Sen. lately lived near the Queen's Head in Water Street.

The scheme was an application of the Amicable Contributionship or Hand-in-Hand Fire Office of London and thus the four hands grasping each other's wrists were put on the seal and house-mark.

On his return from Europe in 1772, Mordecai Lewis married Hannah, daughter of Joseph Saunders, the keeper of the insurance office. He died March 13, 1799, beloved for his integrity, unobtrusive benevolence, and public service. The house was sold by his executors May 5, 1809, to his son, Samuel N. Lewis, who became a successful merchant as his father had been and was noted for his enlarged views and public spirit.

Samuel N. Lewis seems to have lived in the house until November 4, 1817, when it was conveyed to Samuel Rowland Fisher, a distinguished man and prominent Friend. Samuel Fisher was a merchant noted for his hospitality, charity, and sympathy for Negroes and Indians. He was a member of his father's firm of Joshua Fisher & Son, for whom he made several visits to England, becoming well known among Friends there. During the Revolution he had much trouble owing to his neutrality and consistent Friendly life. He was exiled to Virginia from 1777 until 1779 and was arrested for a letter to a business partner in New York which was considered inimical to the government. He was committed to jail by Chief Justice McKean and refused bail because he was unwilling to acknowledge in any way the legality of his arrest.

He was held in close confinement in the "Old Gaol," tried, and twice declared not guilty; but the jury, being sent out again,

moved by the clamor of the mob outside, returned a verdict of misprision and treason, so that he was sentenced to imprisonment during the war. A pardon was soon offered him but he refused it and suffered imprisonment for two years, finally being invited to leave without terms, so that he walked out of open doors with his health broken.

The old house was his wedding gift to his daughter, Deborah, who married William Wharton in 1817.

William Wharton was the son of Charles Wharton and Hannah Redwood, who renounced the vanities and temptations of a worldly career and dedicated the powers of a cultivated intellect and of a most cordial and attractive character to the requirements of a religious life among Friends. He was a gentleman of genial wit and gracious dignity which matched well with his wife's charm and singular beauty. Their country house, Bellevue, near the Schuylkill River below Manayunk, was long the mecca for their friends and descendants.

Deborah Wharton became one of the most widely known ministers of the Society of Friends and visited many different parts of the country on behalf of Indian welfare. She was one of the earliest and most efficient managers of Swarthmore College, as a descendant in each generation has since been. Possessed of ample means, she gave liberally to philanthropic endeavors and was known to say that she could never afford to wear a silk dress. Her children were trained in domestic arts and also to work with their hands, and her genuine kindness, goodness, and strong intelligence were factors in their notable careers. Ten children were born on Spruce Street: Hannah, who married Robert Haydock; Rodman, who married Susanna D. Parrish; Sarah, who married Abraham Barker; Charles W., who married Mary Lovering; Joseph, who married Anna Corbitt Lovering; Mary, who married Joseph D. Thurston; William, who married Anna Walter; Esther Fisher, who married Benjamin R. Smith; and Samuel and Anna, who died unmarried.

Of these, Joseph Wharton became perhaps the most distinguished for learning, philanthropy, and commercial success. He was one of the most prominent and successful ironmasters of the United States, owner of the Bethlehem Steel Works and

of similar undertakings elsewhere. He was the founder of the Wharton School of Finance and Economy at the University of Pennsylvania, a liberal benefactor, and for many years the president of the board of managers, of Swarthmore College, and a prominent member of the Society of Friends.

The house is the one well-preserved abode upon Society Hill where the quality of the City lived and promenaded in Colonial days.

Hope Lodge, in the Whitemarsh Valley, just northeast of Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, is on the present Bethlehem Pike just north of its junction with the Skippack Pike and is close by St. Thomas's Church and Whitemarsh Station of the Pennsylvania Railroad, at the village of that name. It comprises a beautiful estate of about thirty-six acres. The house is second to none in northern America of the period, either in its broad dignity or in the purity of its Georgian architecture. It was built in 1723 and is the manor house of an English gentleman of landed estate.

An avenue of overarching trees leads from the road for about two hundred yards to the house, which stands on a slight rise or small plateau. To the rear, in the distance, is Camp Hill; to the west is Church Hill with picturesque old St. Thomas atop it, and on the other side is the eminence crowned by Fort Washington, where redoubts still remain. In front, to the north across the pike, the picturesque Wissahickon Creek winds through peaceful meadows soon to become a part of Fairmount Park, and beyond rises the long slope of wood-crowned Militia Hill—every rod of land full of historic memories.

Whitemarsh was the tract purchased from William Penn by Major Jasper Farmer, an officer in the British army and a resident of Cork, Ireland, who died while corresponding with Penn about settling in Pennsylvania. His family came over in 1685, however, and were the first settlers in Whitemarsh as well as the greatest land owners thereabouts. Edward Farmer, the Major's son, built a grist mill about 1700 and thither came the residents for miles about including the Governor, Sir William Keith of Graeme Park, Horsham, ten miles away. At the death of Edward Farmer the mill came into the possession of Samuel

Morris, owner of 350 acres near by and seated at what afterwards was called Hope Lodge. A successor to this mill, built on the same site by Isaac Mather, who married Mary Morris, daughter of Joshua Morris, the brother of Samuel, still stands and has been preserved by the late Calvin Pardee, Esq. It is at the end of Mather Lane opposite the entrance to Hope Lodge.

Washington and his army marched down the Skippack from Pennypacker's Mills to the attack on Germantown October 4, 1777, and after the battle the defeated American army returned to Church Hill, Whitemarsh, and formed at the Church under General Stephen. The British made their appearance in force, horse, foot, and artillery, and General Wayne was left to cover the retreat; which he did to such good advantage that General Howe's men gave up the pursuit. It was but a month before the army was back again to begin what is known as the Whitemarsh encampment from November 2 to December 11, 1777, and Washington established his headquarters on the less exposed Emlen place adjoining the Hope Lodge property some distance to the east at Camp Hill. It was here that he was warned through information furnished to one of the officers by the Quakeress Lydia Darragh of an impending attack, and the army was thus saved from disaster. The British came out as she had said they would; but finding Washington well prepared they encamped on Chestnut Hill for several days and then returned to the city.

After the march of the patriot army past Hope Lodge on December 11, 1777, as it moved to winter quarters, Washington wrote: "You might have tracked the army from Whitemarsh to Valley Forge by the blood of their feet." While sitting as president of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, Washington rode out on Sunday, August 19, 1787, with Samuel Powel to visit his old encampment at Whitemarsh.

This is the interesting and historical setting of this old estate near the important junction of the Skippack Road and the Great Road to North Wales, on what was originally the Minsi Indian Trail. Near here the Delaware or Lenni Lenape Indians had their village, relics of which are even now turned up in plowing the fields.

Hope Lodge, Bethlehem Pike, in the Whitemarsh Valley

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Byways and Boulevards in and about Historic Philadelphia.

Hope Lodge is a great square structure of two stories, with a hipped roof. It has a brick front and stone walls pebble-dashed on sides and rear. The hallway and rooms are high-ceilinged and spacious, with round-arched doorways and narrow double doors, heavily paneled. There are deep paneled window seats, great fireplaces with priceless Dutch tiles and handsomely wrought wainscoting. Midway back in the hall a flattened arch springs from fluted pilasters and the stairway ascends laterally from the rear hall. Much of the material in the house, including all the woodwork, was fetched from England and is thoroughly representative of the early Georgian English manor house. The woodwork is handsome and not too ornamented. It lends great dignity to the house, which is completely furnished with it. This feature, with the spaciousness of the plan throughout and the many lovely vistas, makes the mansion more distinguished than many others of the South and of New England, where only a part is elegant. A wide brick paved porch back of the house connects with the kitchen, servants' quarters, and offices, an arrangement characteristic of the period.

Samuel Morris, the son of Morris Morris, a Welsh Quaker of Abington Township and his wife Susanna Heath, erected this baronial house to receive an expected bride to whom he had become affianced while accompanying his mother, a minister among Friends, on a religious visit to England. A flippant remark at the house-warming, carried to her in England by a busybody, deprived him of the lady, however, and he died a bachelor. From 1745 to 1753, Samuel Morris was a Justice of the Peace in Whitemarsh and he was also an Overseer of Plymouth Friends' Meeting. At his death in 1772 he left his estate to his brother Joshua. A small portion was deeded to Friends for a meeting for worship and for educational purposes and another portion for a public school. The property was conveyed in 1776 to William West for £3800 and in 1784 to the life interest of James Horatio Watmough with a reversion to Henry Hope, his guardian. After an estrangement between these two was adjusted the place was settled on Colonel Watmough as a peace offering, he in turn naming it "Hope Lodge." Since then it has been lived in by the Reed, Sargent, and Wentz

families until purchased in 1922 by William Degn, Esquire, who has performed a great public service in saving this priceless thing of beauty. He has restored it to its original condition and filled it with handsome old furniture of its period, adorning the walls with family portraits by Sully and others, including a Gilbert Stuart portrait of Washington.

William West, who occupied this fine mansion during the Whitemarsh encampment, was the son of William and Ann Osborn West of Urlar, near Sligo, Ireland, where he was born. He came to Philadelphia about 1750 and was very successful as a merchant, trading extensively with the Indians. Though not a resident but a land owner, he was elected to the Assembly from Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, in 1756. The Revolution worked such havoc to his import trade that he retired to Whitemarsh in 1776, purchasing the Morris estate of 280 acres on October 8. William West was a contributor to the Pennsylvania Hospital, a signer of the "Non-Importation Agreement" of 1765, and a member of the American Philosophical Society. He was a founder of "The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick" and its President. His loyalty to the American cause is evidenced by General Washington's orders "Given at Whitemarsh" December 25, 1777, for the protection of Mr. West's woodland. He died at his seat in Whitemarsh October 28, 1782, and was the subject of a flattering notice in the Pennsylvania Gazette of November 13. By his marriage to Mary Hodge of Philadelphia, William West became the ancestor of many distinguished families, notably those of Frazer and Conyngham.

Stenton was one of the earliest and most pretentious of the country seats of the Philadelphia neighborhood. The estate originally comprised five hundred acres, but is now a park of some six acres surrounded by rows of the little brick houses for which Philadelphia is widely famous. It is the connecting link between Nicetown and Germantown and is near the Wayne Junction station of the Philadelphia & Reading Railway. The Wingohocking Creek once ran through the grounds, but is now conducted beneath the surface. Fine oaks, hemlocks, and pines remain about the house but an avenue of sycamores has gone.

The house is built of brick with black headers and is fifty-five by forty-two feet in dimensions with a separate range of servant quarters, kitchens, and greenhouses extending one hundred and ten feet farther. The doorway is reached by three curious circular stone steps firmly clamped together with iron bands. It opens into a great hall, paved with brick and wainscoted in white to the ceiling, with an open fireplace on the right. On the left is a dining room, also wainscoted, with a cupboard for china. The fireplace in this room has blue tiles and an iron fireback ornamented with the initials of the builder, "J. L. 1728." On the right is the south parlor, also paneled, with a fireplace surrounded by pink tiles. A stately double staircase ascends beyond an archway in the rear, on either side of which there are lofty rooms also wainscoted in white. The one on the left is a small breakfast room reached from the front dining room through a passageway. Upon the threshold there is a trapdoor to the floor leading to an underground passage to the barns and burying ground, a great convenience in times of stress or storm. In the hallway stands an iron chest to hold the silver, with fourteen tumblers to the lock, and over it are the wooden pegs for hats. In the rear room on the right is a large closet with a sliding top, where a person might be concealed to listen through a small opening to conversation in the hall. The most attractive room is the library on the second floor, which extends across the whole front of the house. This once contained the finest private library in Colonial America, presented by the collector, James Logan, to the City of Philadelphia. Here the illustrious book-loving statesman and scholar spent most of his time during his declining years. There are two fireplaces, one with blue tiles and the other with white. There is a little back stairway and two small back bedrooms for his two daughters. Each room has a fireplace. On the third floor there is no paint on the wainscot or woodwork and there is a little door under the eaves opening into a small passageway to the next room. In fact the whole house is filled with quaint nooks and corners which are the subjects of many a strange legend. On the back of a door on the third floor is cut, "Wllm. Logan jun. Sail'd for England Octobr. 7th. 1763 Aetat: 1-6-7." The copper boiler, the bake oven, the

big fireplace, and the crane are still to be seen in the kitchen, as well as the dovecote on its exterior.

James Logan was born October 20, 1674, at Lurgan, County Armagh, Ireland. He was the son of Patrick Logan of East Lothian, Scotland, and Isabella Hume. He was the descendant of a long line of the flower of Scottish chivalry, scholars and gentlemen, Chief Logan being the Laird or Baron of Restalrig, earlier called Lestalric. Patrick Logan was graduated Master of Arts at Edinburgh University, was a clergyman of the established church of Scotland and chaplain to Lord Belhaven. In 1671 he sought refuge from the turmoil by removing to Ireland and joining the Society of Friends. He took charge of the Latin School at Lurgan and here James Logan learned Latin, Greek, and Hebrew before he was thirteen years of age, and became a master of mathematics at sixteen. James removed to London, where he was, for a while, a schoolmaster, but soon entered the shipping trade at that place and at Bristol. In the Spring of 1699, William Penn engaged him as his secretary and together they came to America in the *Canterbury*. On Penn's departure for England he left him in charge of the Province, saying, "I have left thee an uncommon trust, with a singular dependence on thy justice and care."

An account of James Logan's life is an account of Pennsylvania. For half a century he was a most potent factor in the Provincial affairs and was the center of the volcanic disturbances which affected the Colony. Faithful to the Penn family and loyal to the desires of the Founder, he managed Indian affairs with great skill and it was largely due to him that the friendship and alliance between them and the Province was so long maintained. He corresponded extensively with the literati of Europe and often availed himself of Hebrew or Arabic characters and algebraic formulas. Sometimes his letters convey a lively Greek ode and often they were written in Latin. He translated Cicero's "De Senectute" and Cato's "Disticha," and published essays on reproduction in plants and aberration of light, and treatises on history, archaeology, criticism, theology, ethics, natural philosophy, anatomy, and law. There was no topic of science or literature that he could not discuss with the scholars of his time. He

is described as tall and well made, with a graceful yet grave demeanor, a good complexion, quite florid even in his old age. His hair was brown and never grey, but he wore a powdered wig. He was intolerant of the narrow distinctions of some Friends and believed in a defensive war of resistance to aggression. Thus he supported Franklin for the protection of Philadelphia in the French Wars. He engaged in business with Edward Shippen, but neither his trade nor his public service ever led him from his affection for the muses. He was Chief Justice, Provincial Secretary, Commissioner of Property, and President of the Council. He acquired a fortune in commerce, in trade with the Indians, and by the purchase and sale of desirable tracts of land in all parts of the Colony which his position of Surveyor-General gave him the opportunity of securing. Thus he was able to live in princely style and to entertain with a free hand. For more than a century Stenton was the resort of notable and distinguished persons of the Colonies and from abroad, and its mistresses were among the most accomplished women of the time. Among the visitors to the house were John Dickinson, Edward Shippen, John Randolph of Roanoke, Thomas Pickering, the learned and witty Portugese Abbé Correá, the French minister Genet, Doctor Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Richard Peters, and President Washington. At Stenton, Thomas Godfrey, glazier, by accident discovered the principle upon which he invented a quadrant. He saw a piece of broken glass which had fallen so as to reflect the sun, and upon consulting a volume of Newton which he found in the library, and with advice from James Logan, he built an instrument to the plan in his mind.

On October 9, 1714, he married Sarah, daughter of Charles and Amy Read, after a romantic courtship. His letters to her are very tender and full of spiritual power. To them were born seven children: Sarah, who married Isaac Norris of Fairhill and whose daughter Mary married John Dickinson; William, who married Hannah Emlen and succeeded to Stenton; Hannah, who married John Smith; and James, who married Sarah Armitt. The rest died without issue.

Perhaps the first and most numerous guests at Stenton were the Indians, who came very often and in great numbers, three

or four hundred at a time, and stayed for several weeks. They lined the staircase at night and passed the days in the maple grove. Smaller bands made huts on the grounds and remained a year at a time. The good chief, Wingohocking, standing with Logan on the border of the beautiful stream that wound through the place, proposed a change of names after the Indian custom of brotherhood. Logan explained the difficulty to him and said: "Do thou, chief, take mine, and give thine to this stream which passes through my fields, and when I am passed away and while the earth shall endure it shall flow and bear thy name."

James Logan died October 31, 1751, and was buried in the Friends' burying ground at Fourth and Arch Streets. He was succeeded at Stenton by his son William, who had married Hannah Emlen. William Logan had been educated by his father and in England. He was the friend of the Proprietary interests and of the Indians, giving them homes and educating their children. He executed the conveyance of the Loganian Library to the Library Company of Philadelphia according to his father's wishes.

The next proprietor at Stenton was William Logan's son George, who was born there in 1753. He was educated in England and took a degree in medicine at Edinburgh University, traveling extensively in France, Italy, Germany, and Holland. He married Deborah, daughter of Charles Norris of Fairhill, a charming lady of very wide acquaintance whose hospitality was shared by most of the distinguished foreigners who visited Philadelphia during her occupancy at Stenton. She was something of a poetess.

General Washington made Stenton his headquarters August 23, 1777, on his way to the Brandywine from Hartsville, Pa. He came with twenty officers of his staff and is described as very silent and grave upon this occasion. Later, as President of the Constitutional Convention sitting in Philadelphia, on Sunday, July 2, 1787, he rode out to Stenton with Major Daniel Jenifer to see Doctor George Logan for the purpose of looking over some farm experiments. He was interested in a demonstration of the use of land plaster on grass land, which Doctor Logan illustrated by marking out initials in the sod. Where the plaster

had been sown on these letters the grass was darker and more luxuriant than elsewhere.

On Saturday, November 22, 1777, Sir William Howe gave orders to destroy the houses of obnoxious persons, and by order of Colonel Twistleton two dragoons came to Stenton to fire it. They told the Negro woman whom they encountered there that she could remove the bedding and clothing while they went to the stable for straw. An officer with his command happened to come at the time and inquired about deserters. The vigilant and faithful Negress told him that two were in the barn, so he carried them away and the house was saved. Sir William Howe had occupied it as his headquarters at the time of the Battle of Germantown.

Dr. George Logan was an active member of the Agricultural and Philosophical Societies, and a senator from Pennsylvania from 1801 to 1807, and was much concerned to preserve peace. Upon this concern he visited France in 1798 and England in 1810. On his death in 1821 du Ponceau said of him:

> And are thou gone! friend of man! friend of peace! friend of science! Thou whose persuasive accents could still the angry passions of rulers of men, and dispose their minds to listen to the voice of reason and justice.

When Deborah Logan died in 1839, the estate came to her son Albanus, who was born in 1783 and married John Dickinson's daughter Maria. Albanus was an agriculturalist and was devoted to field sports. He had a gentle nature and through a long protracted suffering before his death never complained. Two children graced his union with Maria Dickinson: Gustavus, who married Miss Armat of Loudoun, and John Dickinson Logan, who wedded Miss Susan Wister. Gustavus occupied the house and his children Albanus and Maria were born there. Since the occupancy by the Colonial Dames and the ownership by the City they have lived at Loudoun near by.

One can hardly leave this enticing subject of our Friendly homes without some mention of the attractive aspects of their surroundings so wisely chosen as to their sites. No portion of America is blessed with rarer natural beauty or more agreeable diversity of surface than eastern Pennsylvania. "Thy God

bringeth thee into a good land," William Penn exclaimed, "of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills, a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass." The vales and hills of the Schuylkill, the Perkiomen, the Pennypack, the Tacony, and the Wissahickon with their wooded slopes have lured many of us to a step aside from the immediate to invite our souls.

The famous farm houses and bounteous barns which are characteristic of our countryside are a joy to architects and to all lovers of home. They turn our appreciation to the quiet stone houses lying gracious and contented under the night: the dark trees like tresses of hair framing a woman's face. And the old gardens which these Friends kept so tenderly!

> A Garden is a lovesome thing,
> God wot!
> Rose plot,
> Fringed pool,
> Fern'd grot—
> The veriest *school*
> Of peace; and yet the fool
> Contends that God is not—
> Not God! in gardens when the eve is cool?
> Nay, but I have a sign;
> *'Tis very sure God walks in Mine.*

We see in all this that the Quakers were not the stiff-necked ascetics which some named them, but people who loved simple, beautiful things of exquisite proportion, culture and refinement, and a lavish hospitality. They practised moderation according to the admonition of William Penn:

"Choose thy cloathes by thine own eyes, not anothers. The more simple and plain they are, the better. Neither unshapely, nor fantastical, and for use and decency, not for pride."

HUMPHRY MARSHALL, BOTANIST

By Francis W. Pennell [1]

"The Friend is cut off from many of the sources of enjoyment open to others; the ballroom, the theatre, are forbidden him. He is neither a pessimist nor a misanthrope. The earth abounds in beauty, all of which is open to his chastened senses. He revels in the sunlight and the breezes. The songs of the birds fall, welcome, into his ear. The colors of the flowers attract him."

So wrote the late Dr. Joseph Trimble Rothrock, himself a botanist of Quaker ancestry, concerning Humphry Marshall, and so he might have written concerning any other of the long line of Quaker naturalists of Pennsylvania. To understand the position of Humphry Marshall, it is necessary to see him in relation to these others; and to realize our right as members of the Friends' Historical Association to hold a meeting in tribute to them all, let us first review rapidly this succession of naturalists and see how their light was welcomed (or not) by Friends.

First, there was the great pioneer, John Bartram, the "Father of American Botany," at whose house along the Schuylkill River was held three years ago the bicentenary of the founding of the first botanical garden in the New World. His was a forceful and original mind, whose thought went beyond the orthodox formulas of his co-religionists, and whom Friends accordingly disowned. His period of activity was roughly from 1725 to 1775. Then there was his cousin Humphry Marshall, who remained an unshaken Friend; he was scientifically active from about 1765 to 1800. Then there were the younger generations of both families: William Bartram, John's son, the "Father of American Ornithology," a traveler and also a botanist, as we shall hear later; and Moses Marshall, Humphry's nephew. At the beginning of the nineteenth century two Chester County Quaker boys, William Baldwin and William Darlington, both medical students at the University of Pennsylvania, took the botanical course of lectures given by Professor Benjamin Smith Barton, who was the first real professor of botany and wrote the first botanical textbook produced in this country; of these Baldwin made plant collec-

[1] An address read at the summer meeting of the Friends' Historical Association, held at Marshallton, Pennsylvania, May 18, 1935.

tions on several voyages, made much more significant collections and studies along the St. Mary's River between Georgia and Florida (then forming the southern boundary of the United States), and died while acting as botanist to Long's Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains; and Darlington, who settled at West Chester, was the author of the famous *Flora Cestrica* (an exceedingly keen botanical work), as well as the collector of the *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall.* Both Baldwin and Darlington were disowned, the former for serving as surgeon on a United States frigate (although he ever claimed that his mission there was the saving of lives), and the latter for acting as surgeon to a regiment of militia in 1805. Next came Thomas Say, a scion of the Bartram line, and the "Father of American Entomology": he was one of the very first Westtown scholars in 1799, but lost his Friendliness later. How it fared with John K. Townsend and John Cassin, Westtown boys of the next quarter century and later among the most distinguished American ornithologists, I do not know, although I think that the former lost membership with Friends. Lastly of course there was the great zoologist and thinker Edward Drinker Cope, but his activity takes us well past the middle of the nineteenth century. It is a series of names of which any group of people may well be proud; but from the viewpoint of this association how may we claim them as Quaker naturalists?

I think that we may do so in the sense that all retained through life something of the simplicity and sincerity characteristic of the Quaker background of their childhood. It was John Bartram's candor and honest intellectuality that led to his disownment, qualities that seem to us among the best things cherished by our Society; one cannot think of Bartram otherwise than as a Friend. William Darlington in his patriotic glow probably departed farthest from the Quaker ideals; but no one has turned with more innate love and understanding than he to the historical interpreting of these early Quaker botanists. There is a quaintness in his speech that is the right medium for revealing them, and we owe to him much of what we know about John Bartram, and nearly all we know about Humphry Marshall.

Humphry[2] Marshall was born in West Bradford township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, on October 10, 1722, the eighth child of Abraham and Mary (Hunt) Marshall. His father was an active minister in the Society of Friends. Humphry went to school somewhat but quit at twelve years of age; he received only such rudiments of education as could then be had in a remote country district. He worked as a farmer, and at a trade as a stone mason.[3] He was married in 1748 to Sarah Pennock, and then, although there were several older brothers, he took charge of his father's farm, near the West Branch of the Brandywine Creek. He became increasingly interested in natural history, and, like his cousin John Bartram before him, began to procure books and to make collections of plants for cultivation and study.

In 1764 he enlarged his father's house, making the bricks himself as well as doing the building. He added a greenhouse, the first in Chester County. After his father's death three years later he came into actual possession of much land, and built himself a new home here opposite the Bradford Meeting House, in what is now called Marshallton. It was here that he had both greenhouse and an observatory, for he was also interested in astronomy. Here he developed his botanical garden and his considerable business in collecting and shipping live plants and seeds. He shipped animals also, land turtles seeming to be a specialty. Moreover, he took a keen interest in encouraging progress in agriculture.

The idea of a botanical garden must surely have come from observation of that of his cousin John Bartram, and so doubtless must have come the thought of developing an actual business in supplying American plants to patrons at home and abroad. In reading the Marshall correspondence preserved at the Pennsylvania Historical Society one finds much evidence of the growth

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[2] The subject of our sketch seems to have spelled his name consistently "Humphry," although his family in England, according to parish records of the Marshalls of Youlgrave, preserved at Lichfield, varied it greatly, writing "Humphrey," "Humffrey," "Humphray," "Homphray," and in Latin "Humfridius."

[3] Evidently this was a family trade; at least, his uncle Humphry and cousin John Marshall in England also followed it.

of this trade, although it is clearly enough indicated in the published selection of Darlington's letters. The Historical Society has the actual orders that were sent to him, although, as the transactions were carried on so long before the day of typewriters, one lacks almost wholly Marshall's own communications. Here in Philadelphia plants were sent to Samuel Meriam, Thomas Russell, and Joseph Gilpin, while Henry Hill negotiated for plants for the agent of the French government, de Marbois. But much more went to Europe and especially to England, to Dr. John Fothergill, Dr. John Coakley Lettsom, Sir Joseph Banks, Lord Suffield, and to the nursery house of Grimwood, Hudson, and Barrit. In Scotland plants went to John Gordon of Aberdeen; in France to Messrs. Derrière of Paris, Desongieux of le Havre, and le President De Lataux of Bordeaux; in Belgium O. A. Bertrand; in Germany to Reichert and Baron Itzenplatz; and in Italy to the Abbé Fontana.

Two events figured in the growth of this enterprise. The first was a scientific one, the publication in 1785 of Humphry Marshall's *Arbustum*[4] *Americanum, The American Grove, or an Alphabetical Catalogue of Forest Trees and Shrubs, natives of the American United States.* This, the first considerable botanical work published in this country, forms the actual basis of Marshall's enduring reputation in science. One can imagine the man of middle years, after his long hours of farm work, finding time to make nearly all its descriptions from actual living plants in his garden or in the woods of Chester County. Each genus and each species received a short but clear account, which (in contrast to customary scientific brevity) is given in complete and readable sentences. "The author would have been happy," he tells us, "could he have given also a description of our native herbaceous plants. At present circumstances oblige him to confine himself to Forest Trees and Shrubs; however he has such a work in contemplation should this meet with the encouragement of the public." Alas, Humphry Marshall's work was ahead of its time; it met a slow sale in America, although it sold in Eng-

[4] This word was actually printed *Arbustrum*, an evident typographic slip for the Latin *arbustum*, meaning *grove*; this was understood at the time, as the latter spelling is that by which it was called in contemporary and subsequent references.

land, and was soon translated into both French and German. Its publication greatly increased foreign orders, which now were concentrated upon woody plants. But the financial return was too little to warrant plans for a similar treatment of herbaceous plants, and the matter is expressed simply but eloquently by Rev. Samuel Kramsch, a Moravian from Germany who later became the botanical teacher of the illustrious Lewis David von Schweinitz. Kramsch had written from Bethlehem in appreciation of the *Arbustum* or "American Grove," and on receiving Marshall's answer had replied: "I pity you extraordinary that you met with so little encouragement for a description of the herbaceous plants, occasioned by the dull sale of the *American Grove.*"

The second event that aided the growth of Humphry Marshall's business in shipping native plants abroad was the arrival of his nephew, the young Dr. Moses Marshall, who lived with him and helped him zealously from 1784 until Humphry's death in 1801. Gradually as the old man's vision became impaired by cataract the enterprise became almost wholly that of the younger man, although its quick disappearance after the death of the senior member suggests that it needed Humphry's stability of character. The older man sent his nephew far to procure plants; Moses went west to Bedford, Pennsylvania, in 1784, while in 1790 he made his great tour of which we have the sketched outline in his letter of that autumn to Sir Joseph Banks: "In May last, I sat out upon a botanic tour, by way of Juniata to Pittsburg, thence southward up the Monongahela, up Green Briar River, over New River to Holston, Nolichucky, &c. Then crossing the high and great chain of mountains, came upon the head waters of Santee, in South Carolina; thence by Ninety-Six to Augusta, and to Savannah town, and continuing southwest to the river Alatamaha, in Georgia. I here found the *Franklinia*"—but that is a story for another speaker this afternoon.

In 1785 Humphry Marshall proposed to Benjamin Franklin, then governor of Pennsylvania, that William Bartram and Moses Marshall be sent on a scientific exploring expedition to what was then the western United States. Seven years later, in 1792, Dr. Caspar Wistar wrote to Moses Marshall about undertaking an exploring expedition up the Missouri River and across to the

"South Sea" or Pacific Ocean, saying that "Mr. Jefferson and several other gentlemen are much interested." Nothing came of either suggestion so far as Dr. Marshall was concerned, but one can recognize in the latter idea a plan which, under Jefferson's continuing interest and after the acquisition of Louisiana, was to become the historic achievement of Lewis and Clark.

The American plants introduced to England through the activity of the Marshalls are apparent on reviewing the monumental work on British cultivated plants by William Aiton called *Hortus Kewensis,* and I have hastily scanned the five volumes of the second edition of this, issued about 1812. The plants are not mentioned as from Marshall, however; one must seek them discriminatingly under the accessions credited to Dr. John Fothergill and Sir Joseph Banks. There appear to be less than twenty, a number not to be compared with the extensive series credited to Philip Miller and Peter Collinson, though actually received from John Bartram. There are obvious reasons why the Marshalls should have supplied fewer plants: Humphry Marshall was no explorer; he dealt mainly in woody plants; and the Revolution had intervened.

On July 20, 1786, Humphry Marshall lost his first wife, and on January 10, 1788, he married Mary Minshall. He had no children by either marriage. He died on November 5, 1801, at seventy-nine years of age, his widow surviving him for twenty-two years. Now it happened also that in 1801, the year of Humphry's death, there was born a grand-nephew of his widow, who was named Minshall Painter. My hearers will recognize yet another link of Quaker botanical history when they remember how in the middle nineteenth century Minshall and his brother Jacob established another arboretum at their home near Lima in Delaware County. Who can doubt the sequence of the chain by which, through family connections, Humphry Marshall developed his arboretum from John Bartram's example, and Minshall Painter from that of Humphry Marshall? So ran the Quaker botanical tradition, though not of necessity confined to such close family contacts nor to arboreta; and so we may think of it as flowing on to our time through men like William Trimble and T. Chalkley Palmer, botanists so recently passed from us.

QUAKER BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

By Henry J. Cadbury

1. Willem Sewel

In a popular review *(Friends' Intelligencer)* of William I. Hull's *Willem Sewel of Amsterdam* I failed to mention two features of special delight to the bibliographically minded, the accurate index and the "Chronological List of Willem Sewel's Published Writings and Translations." The latter is not only much more complete than Joseph Smith's list, but even than the excellent and recent (1933) bibliography by R. Zuidema in the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek,* Vol. IX, 1933. It is appropriate now to call attention to this feature of Dr. Hull's work and to add an item of no small interest which he overlooked. Though Willem Sewel evidently had less sympathy and interest in Dutch Quaker migration to America than many, one exciting narrative of adventure by some English Quaker emigrants can claim him as translator. This is Jonathan Dickenson's *God's Protecting Providence,* a story not particularly Quakerish or edifying, but a remarkable and gruesome tale of shipwreck on the Florida coast and of painful travel through unfriendly Indian villages to St. Augustine. The title of Sewel's translation is:

Ongelukkige|Schipbreuk|en Yslyke|Reystogt,|van etlyke Engelschen, in den Jaare 1696 van|Jamaika|in West Indiën, na|Pensylvania|t'scheep gegaan, en in de Golf van Florida de-|strand, alwaar zy onder de menschenëeters|vervielen, en byna ongelooflyke weder-|waerdigheden uytstonden.| In't Engelsch beschreeven door|Jonathan Dickenson,| eenen van de reyzigers. En daaruyt vertaald door|W. Sewel.| . . . |Te Leyden,|By Pieter van der Aa . . .|

The translation by Sewel has many features not in the original. For some of these the energetic publisher van der Aa may be responsible, such as an elaborate map of the Atlantic seaboard and the West Indies and three folding plates showing in Quaker, Spanish, and Indian garb some of the more critical events in the story. This is also the only edition of the work which I have seen that has an index. But Sewel himself con-

tributes by way of prolog a sixty-line poem calling the reader's attention to the pathos of the story. His versifying inclination of course is known to us from other sources. This, the first Dutch edition, is without date. I would suppose it was soon after the book's appearance in English, at any rate before 1706, for the work was included in that great collection of voyages of the same van der Aa entitled *Naaukeurige Versameling.* In this form new editions followed—listed in P. A. Tiele's *Nederlandsche bibliographie van land- en volkenkunde* (Amsterdam, 1884), pp. 2–6. Copies of Sewel's work in various editions will be found in the following American libraries: New York Public Library, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Library of Congress, John Carter Brown Library (Providence), De Renne Georgia Library (Savannah), Newberry Library (Chicago), Howard University Library.

The map was published in folio by van der Aa with a French notation. Two different editions of it are known to me, but whether it ever accompanied a French translation of the book I do not know. I think probably it belongs to his collection of maps only. For a German translation see below.

2. Jonathan Dickenson (or Dickinson)

Jonathan Dickenson's book, *God's Protecting Providence,* itself has had an interesting history in English. First published in Philadelphia in 1699, it is one of the earliest if not the earliest of the many accounts of captivity among the American Indians. A list of books on this subject in the Newberry Library in Chicago published in 1912 with a supplement in 1928 runs to nearly 500 titles or editions.

Dickenson's work may never have had as much influence on English literature as the Quaker description of Florida by William Bartram, published nearly a century later. It catered to the taste for adventure and suffering rather than that for sensuous description of nature and the idealization of primitivism in the American Indian. But it had a much wider reading than Bartram, if we may judge by its numerous editions. As neither Smith's *Catalogue* nor any other list that I know of is complete I shall set down such editions as I can name:

1699 Printed in Philadelphia by Reiner Jansen.
1700 London by T. Sowle.
1700 London by T. Sowle (see below).
1701 London by T. Sowle.
1720 London by J. Sowle, Third Edition.
1735 Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin. Second [American] Edition.
1751 Philadelphia: by William Bradford. Fourth Edition.
1759 London by Luke Hinde. Fourth Edition.
No date. London by Mary Hinde. Fifth Edition.
1787 London by James Phillips. Sixth Edition.
1790 London by James Phillips. Seventh Edition.
1792 Dover [New Hampshire], Eliphalet Ladd.
1803 Stanford [New York]; printed by Daniel Lawrence for Henry and John F. Hull. Eighth Edition.
1811 Burlington, N. J.; printed at the Lexicon Press of D. Allinson & Co.
1826 Salem [Ohio], Republished by Joshua Shinn. Robert Fee, printer.
1868 Philadelphia; printed by Ezra Townsend Cresson. [Nearly in facsimile from the Fifth Edition].

There is also a German translation:

1756 Germanton, Bey Christop Saur.
1774 Nach dem Philadelphschen Original. Frankfurt und Leipzig, bey Johann Georg Fleischer.

The titles vary somewhat in the different editions, and different additional matter is found in the editions of 1826, 1868 and 1774 (German). The original MS is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania together with the editions of 1700, 1701, 1759, n.d., 1787, 1790, 1868. This material is largely a gift of Charles Cresson, presumably a descendant of the Solomon Cresson in the original story.

Several editions are quite scarce. When the Brinley copy of the 1699 edition was sold for $340, it was said to be the only copy known. According to a later bibliographer only some five copies are known. One of the 1700 editions sold in 1917 for $125. The 1792 edition may be seen in the Haverford College Library, the 1826 edition (with many others) at the

Newberry Library. At the latter may be compared the two editions of 1700 which, though they have the same title page, differ in that one has 89 pages with 36 lines to the full page, the other 85 pages with 38 lines. All seven London editions as well as the rare first Philadelphia edition are at Friends Reference Library, London.

In spite of the hardships on the voyage Dickenson appears to have made the journey from Philadelphia back to Jamaica twice between 1699 and 1702, as the minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting show. The same minutes imply that the printing of his book and the proceeds from its sale were in the hands of the Monthly Meeting in the absence of the author, e.g.: "Reiner Jansen the printer is appointed to get in the money for Jonathan Dickinson's Journals . . . which money when got he is to pay to Samuel Carpenter for such service as it is appointed." The slight information available about the author indicates that he occupied a conspicuous place both in Jamaica where he held much property and later when he settled in Pennsylvania. In the latter province he was Speaker of the Assembly and Chief Justice (Bowden, *History*, ii, 271). He died in 1722.

3. A Long-Lived Quaker Publishing House

The Quaker publishing firm Sowle-Raylton-Hinde-Phillips-Fardon, covering the century and a half from 1680 to 1829, is treated extensively in an article in the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* (New Series xiv. 2; Sept. 1933, p. 157ff) entitled *English Imprints after 1640*. The author, Percy H. Muir, in criticizing the various dictionaries of publishers and printers, emphasizes the importance of showing the continuity of the same business through changes of location and even of firm name. In many cases, of course, the succession remains in the family. He uses the business established by Andrew Sowle as an illustration. Mr. Muir shows no knowledge of Nathan Kite's *Antiquarian Researches* (see below) or he might have added several earlier years of activity to the history of the firm and show how, as apprentice and son-in-law of Andrew Sowle, William Bradford represents with his successors an American development from the same beginning. As it is, the

recent essay contains many interesting facts that are not in the earlier one.

4. William Penn and William Bradford

Rayner W. Kelsey has recently reminded us (*Bulletin,* 21: 101ff; cf. *Quakeriana Notes,* 10 mo. 1933) of the rarity of an old Quaker work on the *Excellent Priviledge of Liberty and Property* of which one complete copy at Haverford College and one incomplete at Friends' Reference Library, London, are known. Its Penn authorship and its early date (1687) were satisfactorily established by C. R. Hildeburn in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History* and Biography (6:461f) in an article *The First Book Printed South of Massachusetts.* Written by William Penn and published by William Bradford the work would indeed be treasured by book lovers. Its scarcity may be due to the fact that neither name appeared on the title page. Many copies have been doubtless ignored or destroyed on that account. It has been suggested that it was perhaps withdrawn or suppressed by the author himself. That is not necessary to suppose since so many Bradford imprints are quite as rare. A few years ago a Bradford expert published a list of over sixty of his publications of which he could trace no copy. In the case of the *Excellent Priviledge* it may be worth while to note two references in past generations to actual copies of this book. In Pastorius's MS list of books that he owned No. 47 "In Octavo" is "The privilege of Liberty and Property" (*Life of F. D. Pastorius,* by M. D. Learned, 1908, p. 280). Over a hundred years later Nathan Kite referring to this work in his *Antiquarian Researches among the Early Printers and Publishers of Friends Books,* Manchester, 1844, p. 39, said, "I have a copy of this book." The book was not listed in Joseph Smith's *Catalogue,* but it appears in his *Supplement,* 1893, p. 264.

5. George Keith or George Fox

Another rare Bradford imprint has also lately come under my attention. Its title page reads *A Vision concerning the Mischievous Seperation among Friends in Old England. Printed and sold by Will. Bradford at Philadelphia, 1692.* I have con-

sulted the copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. There were copies in the Brinley and Charles Roberts Collections, the latter of which sold for $130 in 1918.

Now Joseph Smith (*Catalogue,* ii. 26) says: "Collected and arranged under this false title by George Keith for an evil purpose, to pass off as George Fox's." Others have followed this lead. But it is doubtful whether they have really examined the contents. There can be no doubt that the pieces are genuine writings by George Fox. The last of them was published only two years later in the *Journal,* p. 551, while the rest was circulated in manuscript before the Keith schism (*Eliot Papers,* ii, 1895 p. 21f; Etting MSS: Early Quaker MSS 65; and many other MS collections). The only part of the tract that could be attributed to Keith would be the title, and even that as well as the interest in publishing the tract may well have come from his opponents, who would be fully as likely to regard Keith as a mischievous separatist, and to employ William Bradford who on 2 mo. 29, 1692, was discharged from contract to Friends, moving to New York in 1693. The tract is probably the item mentioned in the minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Friends in the Ministry, 4 mo. 1692, as the "Paper or Papers presented to this meeting written by G. F.," which the meeting ordered printed.

6. Two Dutch Anti-Quakeriana

Probably no source material for Quaker history has been so neglected as the Anti-Quakeriana, and among these conspicuously the continental publications. In spite of Joseph Smith's industry and opportunities many titles of this sort escaped him while compiling his *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana,* 1873. Two items were suggested to me by an examination of the catalog of Benjamin Furly's Library (*Bibliotheca Furliana,* Rotterdam, 1714). One by the Prussian Jesuit, Theodore Rhay, *Der Quacker verwirte Glaubens Bekantnuss,* 1666, I have described elsewhere (*Jnl. F. H. S.,* xxiv (1932), 84). The other is by G. Roose (1612-1711), the Dutch Mennonite. Wilhelm Hubben, *Die Quäker in der deutschen Vergangenheit,* 1929, p. 90f, speaks of this work as lost. But I came upon a copy in the *Bibliotheca Thysiana* at Leyden which is duly listed in Louis D. Petit's

Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche Pamfletten, No. 3167. The title begins *Schriftelick Bericht over eenige aenmercklicke puncten der Engelschen Quaekers genoemt worden.* The imprint is "Amsterdam Pieter la Burgh, 1660." A copy of this work is listed with a German title in *Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana,* 1735, p. 273, a rare book which I consulted at the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library Company, printed at Frankfurt am Main and listing the books owned by Zacharias Conradus ab Uffenbach, as his name is given in Latin. But since the name and place are the same I assume that the Dutch title has been translated. Or was there a separate German version of the work? Smith, *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana,* does not mention Roose, but his *Catalogue of Friends' Books,* i. 949, lists, mistranslating the title, John Higgins' reply in Dutch printed in the same year. This work is not so scarce.

Another Dutch book in criticism of Quakerism and other sects has the following title page:

Den Nieuwen|Speculativen|Tour|a la Mode|Speel-Waghen,| inden welcken|Nu teghenwoordigh swieren ende| rijden alle nieuwe Gheest-drijven-|de Quakers, Independenten, Soci-|nianen, ende andere HH. Prophe-|ten van dese onsalighe Eeuwe.| In't licht ghegheven door Lieven den|Wegh-wijser,|Ghedruckt buyten Amsterdam, naest de onbekende|Wereldt. 1637.

The date is evidently a misprint for 1657, for the section on Quakerism beginning on page 48 and continuing with a poem refers to the Nayler episode at some length. And the large folded plate includes among many other scenes the branding of Nayler with a B. The anonymous authorship and rather cryptic phrase of imprint make the work difficult to place. It is probably by a Roman Catholic. This is the opinion of P. A. Tiele, who lists it in his *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche Pamfletten, Verzameling van F. Muller te Amsterdam,* Vol. I, 1858, No. 2616. Cf. F. Muller, *De Nederlandsche Geschiedenis in Platen,* Part I, p. 304. I consulted Muller's own copy, now at Ghent.

7. B. Franklin

Our references to Willem Sewel and to Philadelphia printers respectively naturally lead to the story of Franklin's participa-

tion in the printing for Samuel Keimer of the first American edition of Sewel's *History* of Quakerism in 1728. Kite (*op. cit.* p. 56ff) tells us some interesting circumstances of this edition in which competition between Keimer and Andrew Bradford led to overstocking the American market. The Friends first asked Bradford to print an edition and only when he declined did they arrange with Keimer who secured five hundred subscribers, but his work was long delayed. Meanwhile Bradford finding that his Aunt Tace was printing a second edition ordered seven hundred copies which reached Philadelphia some time before Keimer's edition was ready. Thus the dilatory Keimer was likely to have no sale for his work, and he wrote to the Yearly Meeting of 1728 a pathetic appeal and apology. The Yearly Meeting took the book off his hands and paid him from the Yearly Meeting stock. Franklin's participation in the printing is told in his *Autobiography* (Cf. W. I. Hull, *op. cit.* p. 185). He was no admirer of Keimer and it is possible that Friends themselves arranged with Franklin and Meredith to print the (last?) forty sheets of Sewel, rather than with Keimer.

Other books by Friends were printed by Franklin both with and without the imprint of his firm. In the latter class mention may be made of the early antislavery appeals of Ralph Sandiford, 1729, 1730, and Benjamin Lay, 1737 (the latter at the time disowned). Franklin as he says in a letter (*The Friend,* London, xvii (1859), p. 41) printed both editions of Sandiford. His reason for not giving his name is doubtless his knowledge that the Friends generally and the civil government would object to the contents and might take action against him.

It is interesting to note that in another instance Friends apparently dissuaded Franklin from printing a book. This was none other than the Book of Discipline which, as is well known, though issued in MS to the subordinate meetings, was zealously guarded from the general public. Repeated editions were so distributed (1704, 1719, 1762). According to the minutes a proposal to print was discussed in the Yearly Meeting of 1718 and deemed not necessary. It was finally printed in 1797 by instruction of the Yearly Meeting of the preceding year. From the following passage under date 1st month 11, 1751, in the

diary of John Smith (1722-1771) of Burlington, then residing in Philadelphia, it may be guessed that Friends had heard a report that a printed edition was projected by one or both the non-Quaker firms, Lewis Evans, bookseller, and B. Franklin and D. Hall, publishers and printers. He writes: "Jos. Crosby & I were desired to speak to Lewis Evans to prevent his printing our disapline, which we did, & he promised us he would not. We also spoke to B. Franklin about it." (*Hannah Logan's Courtship,* 1904, p. 304). But I find no reference to this matter on the Quaker minutes.

What is said to have been "the last" book bearing the imprint of Benjamin Franklin, issued from the press he founded in 1729 (Charles Evans, *American Bibliography,* iv. (1907), p. 60) is also of Quaker authorship. It is a fifty-eight page poem by T(homas) L(etchworth) entitled *A Morning and Evening's Meditation, or, A Descant on the Times.* An edition of 500 copies was issued with the imprint "London, Printed. Philadelphia, Reprinted and Sold by B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1766." I have examined the copy owned by Anthony Benezet, now at the Haverford College Library. As a poem it appears to have no intrinsic claim to immortality.

8. Ellwood's *Davideis*

A Quaker poem much more familiar to the American printers of the eighteenth century, including Franklin and Hall, was Thomas Ellwood's *Davideis,* first published in London in 1712. Joseph Smith gives four later English editions and one at Dublin, but his two American items are incomplete and by no means adequate representation of the American editions. These are also ignored except in an incomplete note of correction in Walter Fischer's *Zur Textgeschichte von Th. Ellwood's 'Davideis' (1712-1796)* in *Anglia, Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie,* lv (1931), 84ff.

A fuller list of American editions is as follows:

The Fourth Edition, Corrected, Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1751.

The Fourth Edition, Philadelphia: Printed by James Chattin, 1753.

The Fourth Edition, Corrected, Philadelphia: Reprinted by James Chattin, 1754.

Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1760.

Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin, and D. Hall, 1762.

Wilmington: Printed by James Adams, 1764.

[Wilmington: Printed by James Adams, 1765. This is so listed by Hildeburn, but I know of no copy and suppose it is an error for the preceding date.]

Philadelphia: Printed and sold by Joseph Crukshank. 1785.

Dover [New Hampshire]: Reprinted by Eliphalet Ladd, 4to, 1792.

Wilmington: Printed by Johnson & Preston, 1797.

Philadelphia: J. Crukshank, 1805.

9. Anthony Benezet

The sesquicentennial of the death of Anthony Benezet (d. 1784) is a suitable time to mention three pamphlets of his not listed by Joseph Smith. So largely anonymous are his writings and so easily do they blend from original essays to collections of quotations or to new editions which he sponsored, that neither certainty nor completeness is possible. One title begins *Serious and Awful Considerations Recommended to All, etc.* The first item is *The Uncertainty of a Death Bed Repentance.* The whole runs to 48 pages continuous numbering in duodecimo. It was printed by Joseph Crukshank in Philadelphia without date. Several of the pieces were also published by Benezet separately.

A second duodecimo running to 64 pages also contains material published by Benezet in separate or abbreviated form. The title page runs: *An Extract of Miss Mary Gilbert's Journal. With Some Account of the Lady Elizabeth Hastings, &c. . . . London, Printed: Philadelphia, Reprinted and Sold by David Hall, and William Sellers. MDCCLXIX.* The preface (pp. iii-viii) may be by Benezet.

A third piece, also duodecimo, is much briefer (8 pages), but more revelatory of Benezet's character. It has no title page, printer, or date but simply the heading *Some Necessary Remarks on the Education of The Youth in the Country-Parts of this,*

and the neighbouring Governments. It urges the importance of a good education, not a cheap one. It recommends that instead of one teacher who boards about in families and looks for a better post, a more substantial equipment be established "on a lasting bottom" with an endowment and managing committee. It ends with nine definite suggestions for the method and scope of instruction, six rules extracted from those used in Philadelphia schools, and five advices for children at home. Benezet's interest in this subject of country Quaker schools appears as early in his life as 1750 (A. C. Myers, *Hannah Logan's Courtship,* p. 293). Evans, *American Bibliography,* No. 15739, dates the pamphlet as 1778. In fact all these three are recognized as Benezet's by Evans. But neither Smith nor later Benezet bibliographies that I have seen mention them.

Almost identical in wording with large parts of the last mentioned pamphlet is an official Philadelphia Yearly Meeting broadside of 1778 entitled "Some Observations Relating to the Establishment of Schools." Beside the signature of the Yearly Meeting Clerk there appear the signatures of Anthony Benezet and Isaac Zane on behalf of the committee that proposed it. The phraseology is almost certainly that of Benezet, but whether its date is earlier or later than the pamphlet I cannot tell. This is duly cataloged by Smith (i. 762) under "Philadelphia Yearly Meeting." Cf. Evans, No. 15802. The copy that I have consulted is one I came upon in Pemberton Papers, vol. 32, p. 106, at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

QUAKERS IN THE DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY

By Anna B. Hewitt

As the early volumes of the *Dictionary of American Biography* (first referred to in this *Bulletin* in vol. 18 (1929), page 52) were published, the names were noted in the *Bulletin* of the Quakers whose biographies were included. See *Bulletin* 18 (1929): 104 for the names appearing in vols. I and II of the *Dictionary;* 19 (1930): 41 for vols. III and IV; 19: 99 for

vol. V; 20 (1931): 33 for vol. VI; 20: 94 for vol. VII; 21 (1932): 36 for vol. VIII.

Eight volumes have appeared since the last notes appeared in the *Bulletin;* the list of Quakers included is herewith brought down to date.

VOLUME IX

Hicks, Elias (1748-1830): *Quaker preacher.*
Hill, Richard (c. 1673-1729): *Philadelphia merchant, legislator, and judge.*
Hoag, Joseph (1762-1846): *Quaker preacher.*
Holder, Charles Frederick (1851-1915): *Naturalist and sportsman.*
Holder, Joseph Bassett (1824-1888): *Naturalist and physician.*
Holme, Thomas (1624-1695): *Surveyor and map maker.*
Hopkins, Johns (1795-1873): *Merchant and philanthropist.*
Hopkins, Stephen (1707-1785): *Signer of the Declaration of Independence.*
Hopper, Isaac Tatem (1771-1852): *Humanitarian and abolitionist.*
Hough, Charles Merrill (1858-1927): *Jurist.*
Howland, Emily (1827-1929): *Educator and reformer.*
Hubbs, Rebecca (1772-1852): *Quaker preacher.*
Humphreys, Joshua (1751-1838): *Shipbuilder and naval architect.*
Hunt, Nathan (1758-1853): *Quaker preacher.*
Hussey, Obed (1792-1860): *Inventor.*
Hutchinson, Woods (1862-1930): *Physician and author.*
Iddings, Joseph Paxon (1857-1920): *Geologist and petrologist.*
Ivins, William Mills (1851-1915): *Lawyer and reformer.*
James, Thomas Chalkley (1766-1835): *Physician and teacher.*
James, Thomas Potts (1803-1882): *Botanist.*
Janney, Oliver Edward (1856-1930): *Physician and philanthropist.*
Janney, Samuel McPherson (1801-1880): *Author and Quaker minister.*
Jansen, Reinier (-1706): *Printer.*

VOLUME X

Jay, Allen (1831-1910): *Quaker preacher.*
Jeanes, Anna T. (1822-1907): *Philanthropist.*
Jenkins, Howard Malcolm (1842-1902): *Editor and historical writer.*
Johnson, John Butler (1850-1902): *Civil engineer.*
Jones, John (1729-1791): *Surgeon and author.*
Jones, Sybil (1808-1873): *Quaker preacher.*
Julian, George Washington (1817-1899): *Abolitionist leader.*
Keimer, Samuel (1688-c. 1739): *Printer.*
Keith, George (c. 1638-1716): *Founder of "Christian Quakers"; Anglican missionary.*
Kinsey, John (1693-1750): *Lawyer, politician, and jurist.*
Kirkbride, Thomas Story (1809-1883): *Physician.*

Knight, Edward Collings (1813-1892): *Capitalist and inventor.*
Lacey, John (1755-1814): *Revolutionary soldier and public official.*

VOLUME XI

Lay, Benjamin (1677-1759): *Quaker reformer.*
Lea, Henry Charles (1825-1909): *Publisher and historian.*
Lea, Isaac (1792-1886): *Publisher and malacologist.*
Leeds, Daniel (1652-1720): *Surveyor and almanac maker.*
Leeds, John (1705-1790): *Mathematician and astronomer.*
Letchworth, William Pryor (1823-1910): *Philanthropist.*
Lewis, Enoch (1776-1856): *Mathematician and educator.*
Lewis, William (1751-1819): *Lawyer.*
Lewis, William David (1792-1881): *Merchant and banker.*
Lippincott, James Starr (1819-1885): *Horticulturist.*
Lloyd, David (1656-1731): *Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.*
Lloyd, Thomas (1640-1694): *Physician and deputy governor of Pennsylvania.*
Logan, Deborah Norris (1761-1839): *Historian.*
Logan, George (1753-1821): *Physician and U. S. senator.*
Logan, James (1674-1751): *Colonial statesman and scholar.*
Love, Alfred Henry (1830-1913): *Radical pacifist.*
Luelling, Henderson (1809-1878): *Nurseryman.*
Lukens, Rebecca Webb Pennock (1794-1854): *Iron manufacturer.*
Lundy, Benjamin (1789-1839): *Abolitionist.*
Lyon, William Penn (1822-1913): *Legislator and jurist.*

VOLUME XII

McKim, Charles Follen (1847-1909): *Architect.*
McKim, James Miller (1810-1874): *Antislavery leader.*
Macomber, Mary Lizzie (1861-1916): *Painter.*
McQuillen, John Hugh (1826-1879): *Dentist, writer, and editor.*
Macy, Jesse (1842-1919): *Philosopher.*
Macy, Josiah (1785-1872): *Merchant captain.*
Macy, Valentine Everit (1871-1930): *Capitalist.*
Madison, Dolly Payne (1768-1849): *Wife of James Madison.*
Magill, Edward Hicks (1825-1907): *Teacher and college president.*
Malcolm, James Peller (1767-1815): *Line engraver and author.*
Markham, William (c.1635-1704): *Colonial governor of Pennsylvania.*
Marshall, Benjamin (1782-1858): *Merchant and manufacturer.*
Marshall, Clara (c. 1848-1931): *Pioneer woman physician.*
Marshall, Humphry (1722-1801): *Botanist.*
Matlack, Timothy (-1829): *Revolutionary patriot.*
Medary, Samuel (1801-1864): *Editor.*
Mendenhall, Thomas Corwin (1841-1924): *Physicist.*

Merritt, Anna Lea (1844-1930): *Painter and etcher.*
Michener, Ezra (1794-1887): *Physician and botanist.*
Middleton, Thomas Cooke (1842-1923): *Educator.*
Mifflin, Thomas (1744-1800): *Merchant and governor of Pennsylvania.*
Mifflin, Warner (1745-1798): *Quaker reformer.*

Volume XIII

Mills, Anson (1834-1924): *Soldier and inventor.*
Mitchell, Henry (1830-1902): *Hydrographer and engineer.*
Mitchell, John (-1768): *Physician and botanist.*
Mitchell, Maria (1818-1889): *Astronomer and teacher.*
Mitchell, Samuel Latham (1764-1831): *Physician and U. S. senator.*
Mitchell, William (1791-1869): *Amateur astronomer.*
Moore, Addison Webster (1866-1930): *Philosopher.*
Moore, Edward Mott (1814-1902): *Surgeon.*
More, Nicholas (-1689): *First Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.*
Morris, Anthony (1654-1721): *Quaker leader.*
Morris, Anthony (1766-1860): *Merchant.*
Morris, Cadwalader (1741-1795): *Merchant.*
Morris, Caspar (1805-1884): *Physician.*
Morris, Edmund (1804-1874): *Editor and writer.*
Mosher, Eliza Maria (1846-1928): *Physician and educator.*
Mott, James (1788-1868): *Reformer and abolitionist.*
Mott, Lucretia Coffin (1793-1880): *Reformer and Quaker preacher.*
Mott, Valentine (1785-1865): *Surgeon.*
Murray, John (1737-1808): *Quaker merchant.*
Murray, Lindley (1745-1826): *Grammarian.*
Murray, Robert (1721-1786): *Quaker merchant.*
Neal, John (1793-1876): *Author and editor.*
Newton, Isaac (1800-1867): *First U. S. Commissioner of Agriculture.*
Nicholson, Timothy (1828-1924): *Quaker humanitarian.*
Niles, Hezekiah (1777-1839): *Editor.*
Nixon, William Penn (1833-1912): *Journalist.*
Norris, Isaac (1671-1735): *Merchant and mayor of Philadelphia.*
Norris, Isaac (1701-1766): *Merchant and speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly.*
Norton, Elijah Hise (1821-1914): *Congressman and jurist.*
Oberholtzer, Sara Louisa Vickers (1841-1930): *Author.*
Offley, David (-1838): *Merchant and diplomat.*

Volume XIV

Olden, Charles Smith (1799-1876): *Governor of New Jersey.*
Osborn, Charles (1775-1850): *Abolitionist.*
Osborne, Thomas Mott (1859-1926): *Prison reformer.*

Owen, Griffith (c. 1647-1717): *Colonial leader and Quaker preacher.*
Paine, Thomas (1737-1809): *Revolutionary political pamphleteer.*
Painter, William (1838-1906): *Engineer and inventor.*
Palmer, Joel (1810-1881): *Pioneer and author.*
Palmer, Potter (1826-1902): *Chicago merchant.*
Palmer, William Jackson (1836-1909): *Railroad executive.*
Parrish, Anne (1760-1800): *Philanthropist.*
Parrish, Edward (1822-1872): *Pharmacist, teacher, and college president.*
Parrish, Joseph (1779-1840): *Physician and teacher.*
Parry, John Stubbs (1843-1876): *Physician.*
Parsons, Samuel Bowne (1819-1906): *Horticulturist and abolitionist.*
Partridge, Richard (1681-1759): *Merchant and colonial agent.*
Pastorius, Francis Daniel (c. 1651-1720): *Founder of Germantown.*
Pemberton, Israel (1715-1779): *Quaker merchant and philanthropist.*
Pemberton, James (1723-1809): *Quaker merchant and philanthropist.*
Pemberton, John (1727-1795): *Quaker preacher.*
Pemberton, John Clifford (1814-1881): *Soldier.*
Penington, Edward (1667-1701): *Quaker pamphleteer and surveyor.*
Penington, Edward (1726-1796): *Quaker merchant.*
Penn, John (1729-1795): *Lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania.*
Penn, John (1740-1788): *Signer of the Declaration of Independence.*
Penn, Richard (1735-1811): *Lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania.*
Penn, Thomas (1702-1775): *Proprietor of Pennsylvania.*
Penn, William (1644-1718): *Founder of Pennsylvania.*
Pennell, Joseph (1857-1926): *Etcher.*
Perry, Christopher Raymond (1761-1818): *Naval officer.*
Physick, Philip Syng (1768-1837): *Surgeon.*

VOLUME XV

Pleasants, James (1769-1836): *Governor of Virginia.*
Plummer, Mary Wright (1856-1916): *Librarian, teacher, and poet.*
Post, Isaac (1798-1872): *Abolitionist.*
Potts, Charles Sower (1864-1930): *Physician.*
Potts, Jonathan (1745-1781): *Physician.*
Powell, George Harold (1872-1922): *Horticulturist.*
Preston, Ann (1813-1872): *Physician.*
Preston, Jonas (1764-1836): *Physician.*
Price, Eli Kirk (1797-1884): *Lawyer.*
Price, Hiram (1814-1901): *Congressman and banker.*
Proud, Robert (1728-1813): *Educator and historian.*
Pugh, Ellis (1656-1718): *Quaker preacher and writer.*
Pugh, Evan (1828-1864): *Chemist and college president.*
Pusey, Caleb (c. 1650-1727): *Political leader and writer.*
Pyle, Howard (1853-1911): *Artist, author, and teacher.*
Randolph, Jacob (1796-1848): *Surgeon.*

Rawle, Francis (c. 1662-1726): *Merchant and member of Pennsylvania Provincial Assembly.*
Rawle, Francis (1846-1930): *Lawyer.*
Rawle, William (1759-1836): *Lawyer and philanthropist.*
Rawle, William Henry (1823-1889): *Lawyer.*
Read, Charles (c. 1713-1774): *Lawyer and landowner.*
Remington, Joseph Price (1847-1918): *Pharmacist.*
Rhoads, James E. (1828-1895): *College president.*
Richards, John Kelvey (1856-1909): *Jurist.*
Richards, Theodore William (1868-1928): *Chemist.*
Richards, William Trost (1833-1905): *Painter.*
Richardson, Joseph (1711-1784): *Silversmith.*
Ricketson, Daniel (1813-1898): *Historian and poet.*
Riddle, George Peabody (1851-1910): *Actor and reader.*
Ridgway, Robert (1850-1929): *Ornithologist.*
Rittenhouse, David (1732-1796): *Astronomer.*

VOLUME XVI

Roberts, Job (1756-1851): *Pioneer agriculturist.*
Roberts, Jonathan (1771-1854): *Congressman and senator.*
Roberts, Solomon White (1811-1882): *Civil engineer.*
Roberts, William Milnor (1810-1881): *Civil engineer.*
Robinson, Edward Mott (1800-1865): *Merchant.*
Robinson, Rowland Evans (1833-1900): *Author.*
Rodman, Isaac Peace (1822-1862): *Legislator and Union soldier.*
Rodman, Thomas Jackson (1815-1871): *Soldier and inventor.*
Ross, Betsy (1752-1836): *Flag maker.*
Rotch, Abbott Lawrence (1861-1912): *Meteorologist.*
Rotch, Arthur (1850-1894): *Architect.*
Rotch, Thomas Morgan (1849-1914): *Pediatrician.*
Rotch, William (1734-1828): *Whaling merchant.*
Sage, Margaret Olivia Slocum (1828-1918): *Philanthropist.*
Sands, David (1745-1818): *Quaker preacher and abolitionist.*
Savery, William (1721-1787): *Cabinetmaker.*
Savery, William (1750-1804): *Quaker preacher.*
Say, Benjamin (1755-1813): *Physician and philanthropist.*
Say, Thomas (1787-1834): *Entomologist and conchologist.*
Scattergood, Thomas (1748-1814): *Quaker preacher.*
Scott, Irving Murray (1837-1903): *Shipbuilder.*
Scott, Job (1751-1793): *Quaker preacher.*
Scull, John (1765-1828): *Newspaper editor.*
Sellers, Coleman (1827-1907): *Engineer.*
Sellers, William (1824-1905): *Machine tool builder.*

DOCUMENTS

Isabel Grubb, of Garrick-on-Suir, County Tipperary, Irish Free State, has contributed extracts from three letters, accompanied by some explanatory notes, throwing an interesting light on America or American Friends. The first letter, she writes, crediting her statements to information kindly supplied by Muriel Hicks, of the Friends Library, London, was written by Morris Birkbeck (1734-1816), who was born in Yorkshire. In 1762 he married Hannah Bradford, of Lancaster. She died in 1764 leaving one son, to whom he wrote this letter during a visit to America, undertaken in 1773-1774, with the purpose of inspecting his estate of 1,280 acres near New Garden, North Carolina. He did not, however, settle there but returned to England and in 1776 married Sarah Hall (the writer of the second extract), of Skipton, Yorkshire. The rest of his life seems to have been spent in or near London, where he was engaged in an insurance business. In his later years he made endeavors to procure a complete collection of books, pamphlets, etc., published by Friends. This he left by will to Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting and it still exists as the Birkbeck Library. He had, however, arranged that the Friends Library in London should have anything from the collection which they required before it went to York. He left the books "not only for the perusal of Friends that may incline to read them, but for the use of any who may be engaged in writing on subjects relating to the Society, and with its approbation."

New Garden Settlement, North Carolina,
11mo. 28th, 1773.

Dear Son,

I know not that I have yet particularly answered thy letter, which tho' short was very acceptable, I received it with several in good time after their dates, but as it was so short a time after my departure I expect more are on the way if not arrived since I left Philadelphia with later intelligence. I left Philadelphia about three weeks ago & travelling by way of Baltimore Town, Anapolis, Bladensburgh, Hullsborough, &c I arrived at this place on fourth day last, on fifth day I went to the center, another settlement of Friends in wch my Purchase from Dr Fothergill is, on sixth day I viewed it accompanied by six of the kind neighbours, much to my satisfaction; thou mayst inform the curious that it is rich land the greatest part of it well watered by two creeks & about twenty

springs well timber'd with fine oak of various kinds, Ash, Maple, Poplar, Chesnut, Walnut, Hickary, &c but there is neither Pine, nor Cedar upon it these are generally an indication of a poor light sandy soil there are also Hazles wild roses, grape vines in abundance bearing fine Fruit of wch I partook with no small pleasure, variety of flowering shrubs, Plumb trees, sassafras & other aromatics & physicks, too tedious to enumerate, Wild deer, rabbits, partridge, Turkies &c &c I like it the best of any place I have yet seen & am pleased that I happened to secure it the Judges here who are many acknowledg it excels any hereabouts yet I chuse to see more before I determine on the place of my future residence which must be on this continent, I believe this I can dispose of to considerable advantage I have no doubt when so inclined I have a view to Potomack or St James River the latter seems most promising. Now let me inform thee I am still favor'd with good health, & satisfaction in my journey as much as I expected to meet with & more tho' much alone & in ye woods chusing ye highest or shortest roads rather than to follow settlements when round about of wch the country is much thicker than I had any idea of. Robert Walker came on 6th day to New Garden from ye back settlements of Virginia whither Saml Fisher accompanied him I shall proceed with him as far as he goes southward perhaps to Georgia at least I intend it—am now at the widow Hunts who with her Family is pretty well, also Thomas Thornburgh is bravely he lives with her & I believe is very helpful to her she seems to bear the loss of her valuable husband with great prudence and resignation, is an agreeable woman Thomas Thornburgh & Robert Walker send love to thee, so long as thou art good, good Friends well remember thee but none with more affection than thy Father ever anxious for thy welfare.

M. Birkbeck.

The letter of which the following is an extract was written by Sarah Hall, who later married Morris Birkbeck, to Deborah Shackleton. Thomas Thornburgh, referred to in this letter and the preceding one, was the nephew of William Hunt, John Woolman's cousin, who died in England shortly before Woolman himself. William Hunt seems to have been especially liked by Irish Friends and in later years when his son, Nathan Hunt, visited Ireland he, too, received a warm welcome.

From Lancaster [in Lancashire, England] 10mo 22nd 1772.

. . . Cousin Morris Birkbeck . . . and Thomas Thornburgh attended this Quarterly Meeting, Thomas looks thin, very thin, but was as chearful or more so than I expected I was a good deal affected when I first saw him the remembrance of his worthy uncle, the affectionate manner of

our parting, & his last words which I hope never to forget all rushed in upon me at once . . . They spent two nights with us & then returned to Settle, Thomas then thought of spending the winter there, or the greatest part of it. We have heard since that John Griffiths has wrote and advised him to return to America pretty soon. Samuel Emlin thinks of leaving England in a few weeks 'tis not unlikely but they may go together if Thomas encline to follow Friend Griffiths advice—how he will do I can't tell I expect to hear shortly. Doubtless you have heard of John Woolman's decease—He was at the last quarterly meeting at York attended all the meetings but the last a few days after he was seized with the small-pox he was quite resigned and said if he had it in his choice to live or die he knew not which to chuse; he gave directions concerning his funeral; a few hours before his departure he called for pen & ink tho' he could not see yet he wrote the following "I believe it is in the wisdom of Christ that I am here—whether life or death I know not."

Yorkshire was particularly mentioned in his certificate—no other county—is it not rather remarkable, as he has laid down his life there? He was at this week day meeting, he left the town that afternoon—after dinner Cousin Molly Bradford and I went to Cousin Dillworth's to see him—we had not sat long before he appeared beautifully indeed [*i. e.*, appeared in supplication] and very encouragingly, glad we were that we went—He chose to walk he was very particular in his dress, he wore a course cloth like Flannel, no cuffs to his coat a drab hat a course unbleached shirt no stock or neckcloth white woolen stockens shoes uncurried the native color tyed with the same—he drank no foreign liquors, or tea, he did not chuse to drink out of Silver or to make use of silver spoons—herb tea sometimes he drank sweetened with honey—sugar he never chose—He was indeed a striking pattern of Temperance and Humility.

The third extract is from a letter written by Thomas Chandlee to his mother, from Clogheen, County Tipperary, Ireland, 2mo. 8th, 1812.

. . . Stephen Grillett a naturalized American but originally a frenchman arrived here on 3rd day from Cork where he attended the Quarterly Meeting, held a publick meeting at 6 o'clock same evning in our mill, together with Anne Burges a female English friend who is also travelling this nation on a religious mission, we had a very numerous attendance a great number went away seeming well pleased with Grillett's testimony, saying that they never heard a man proclaim so fine a fluency of language, with such force so well adapted to the purpose, wondring that he who was originally a Frenchman could express himself so well in English he is a man (as himself says) who has seen through the errors of the

church of Rome, & connected himself with a people professing a more inward & spiritual worship; he was at one time a captain in the King of France's guards & had been brought up in Court until the revolution, which time he escaped with his life to America in his preaching when he is at a loss for an English word he will put in a french but on the whole I think he is a man after God's own heart. . . .

NOTES AND REVIEWS

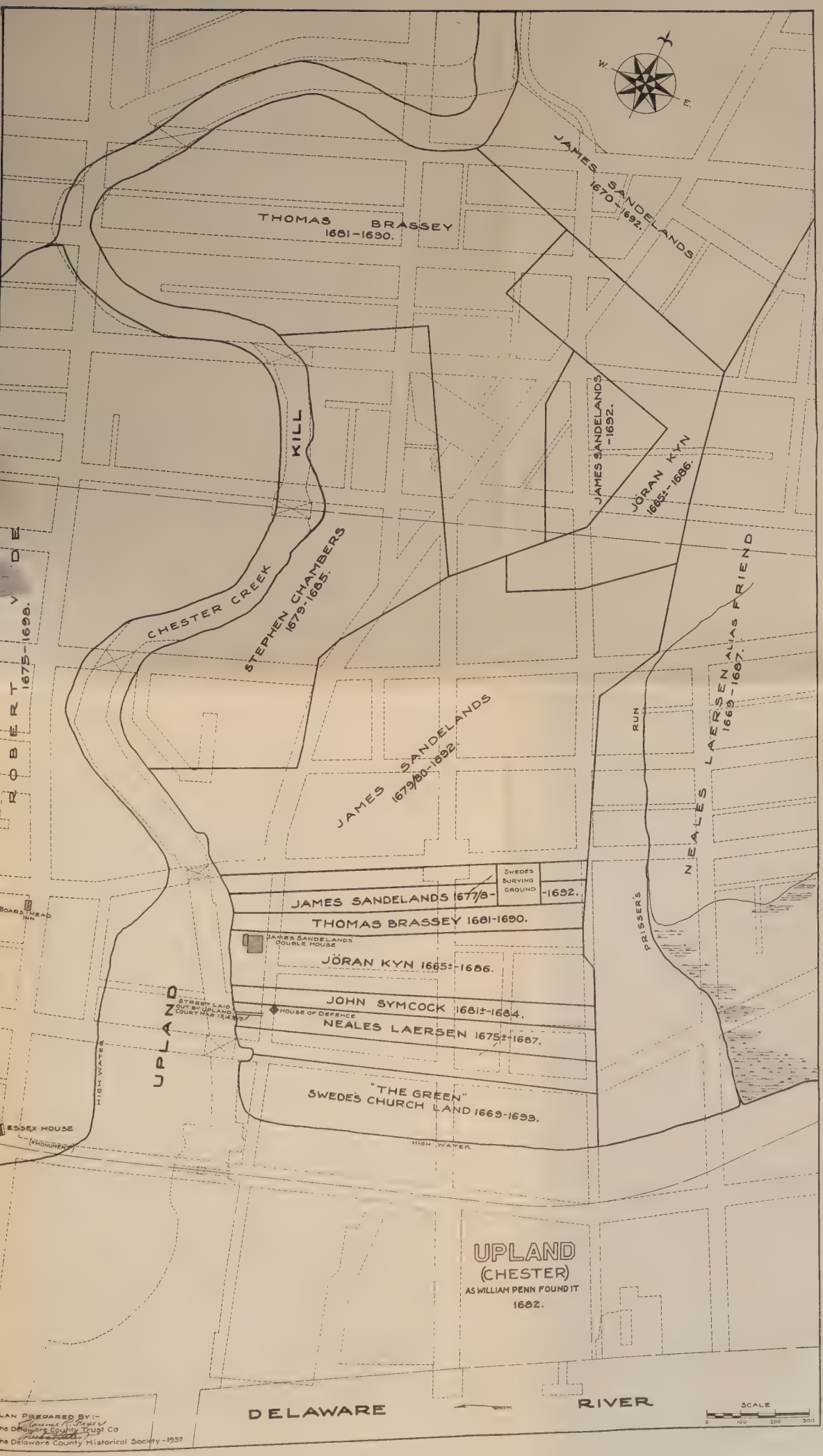
The widespread if perhaps ill-informed interest of the eighteenth-century French in American Quakers is replaced in the twentieth by a scholarly interest which arrives at a much clearer understanding of the essentials of Quakerism. Pierre Brodin's recent articles in the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne* may not be read by as large a public as were the letters of that Franco-American farmer, Crèvecoeur, or the rhapsodies of Brissot de Warville, but they will contribute to a sounder knowledge of the actual character of the early Friends. "Les Quakers dans le New-York au xviie siècle" (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne,* 9 (1934) :385-422) is based on a careful study of the original sources, manuscript as well as printed. And while it does not add significantly to the story as given by Rufus M. Jones in his *Quakers in the American Colonies,* it does confirm that account, and from the point of view of a European. In one instance only does M. Brodin differ with the standard Quaker historian, but this is on the important point as to the influence of John Bowne in bringing religious persecution in New Amsterdam to an end. The evidence here presented indicates that the Dutch West India Company issued its order to Governor Stuyvesant to allow the consciences of men "to remain free and unshackled" before Bowne arrived in Holland to plead the cause, and that the Directors of the Company were moved by considerations more practical than philosophical in thus granting religious toleration.

In an earlier article, "Quelques aspects de la vie religieuse en Nouvelle-Angleterre au xviie siècle" (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne,* 9 (1934) :97-119), M. Brodin mentions the Quakers in telling of the Puritan practice of toleration and persecution.

THOMAS E. DRAKE.

The 250th Anniversary of the First Arrival of William Penn in Pennsylvania, 1682-1932. Edited by a Committee of the Delaware County Historical Society, Frank Grant Lewis, Ph.D., Chairman. Chester, 1934. 106 pp.

The Delaware County Historical Society has presented to the Friends' Historical Association a copy of the souvenir volume prepared as a record of the anniversary which our own *Bulletin* reported quite fully in Vol. 21 (1932): 49-101. Much of the text consists of the addresses delivered at the anniversary exercises held at Chester on May 21, 1932,



TWO MAPS OF CHESTER

Above: Chester and Environs, showing some of the old landmarks. Drawn by Frank C. Watson.

Left: Upland (Chester) as William Penn found it in 1682. Drawn by Chester F. Baker from data supplied by Clarence R. Fryer.

Reprinted, with permission, from *The 250th Anniversary of the First Arrival of William Penn in America, 1682-1932*, issued by the Delaware County Historical Society, Chester 1934.

under the auspices of the Friends' Historical Association, and on October 28, 1932, under the auspices of the Delaware County Historical Society and the city of Chester, many of which had already been printed in the *Bulletin*. The material is in some cases differently arranged in this anniversary volume, and the events of the celebrations are more fully reported. The address of Clarence Wilson Brazer, President of the Delaware County Historical Society, delivered at the October meeting, is printed, announcing the opening of a fund for gifts and bequests toward the acquisition of a public park at the place of Penn's landing; also a report of the address of welcome by William Ward, Jr., Mayor of Chester, and of addresses by Dr. Albert Cook Myers, on "William Penn," and by Dr. James N. Rule, Chairman of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, and State Superintendent of Public Instruction, on "Our Heritage from Penn." The sixteen-page souvenir program of the October exercises is printed in full. The frontispiece of this *Bulletin* is reprinted from it.

Special mention should be made of the illustrations, which number twenty-one and include three maps of ancient Chester, one of which had been, the others are herewith, printed in the *Bulletin*. The volume is beautifully printed and attractively bound, and has that most useful attribute of a historical work, an excellent index. It constitutes a worthy record and souvenir of an impressive anniversary celebration.

John Brown in Bronze. Published by the John Brown Memorial Association, Lake Placid, New York. 43 pp. 40 cents.

Like the preceding, this is a record of a memorial celebration, the occasion being the dedication of a monument and statue of John Brown of Harper's Ferry fame, at North Elba, near Lake Placid, New York, where he had lived before his fatal expedition to Harper's Ferry. Funds for the statue, which is the work of the sculptor Joseph P. Pollia, were collected by the John Brown Memorial Association, founded in 1922 as a result of a stirring address by Dr. J. Max Barber of Philadelphia, before the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They were contributed principally by Negroes from Philadelphia, New York, and Springfield, Massachusetts. The original farm and farmhouse owned by John Brown at North Elba have been bought and presented to the State of New York as a memorial park.

A note in the *Foreword* states that the publication of the memorial volume was made possible by the aid of Mr. Zenas H. Ellis, of Fair Haven, Vermont, a member of Friends' Historical Association and long an admirer of John Brown. Friends played such an active part in furthering the cause for which this great abolitionist died that they may be interested in hearing something of the record which our fellow member has had printed. John Brown was born in 1800 at Torrington, Connecticut; he spent most of his boyhood in Ohio, where he prepared for the ministry but took to business instead. In 1849, after having lived in various places, he settled at North Elba, New York, on a lot of the tract

which was being turned over to Negro settlers by its owner, Gerritt Smith. This was the colorful period of the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, of the Dred Scott decision, of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, of the assault on Sumner in the United States Senate. In 1854-55, Brown and five of his sons interested themselves actively in making Kansas a free State, settling in Ossawatomie, and adopting the point of view that emancipation of the slaves could come only with violence and bloodshed. He soon took the law into his own hands in avenging the death of five antislavery leaders by killing five of the proslavery leaders in cold blood. He had formed a plan to set up an independent State of emancipated or escaped slaves; and as the first move toward its establishment he organized a small military band and captured the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in 1859, intending to make this his military headquarters, and supposing that he would be reinforced by slaves who would escape and join him. He was, however, attacked and captured by federal troops under Robert E. Lee; and was tried at Charlestown (now in West Virginia), for "treason, and conspiring and advising with slaves and other rebels, and murder in the first degree." His speech in his own defence was impressive in its sober simplicity and sincerity, springing from the deepest conviction that his action had been right and that its results and consequences could be safely left in God's hands. Upon being convicted, he was hanged at Charlestown. His wife took his body back to his home at North Elba, the trip being in the nature of a triumphal procession as abolitionists in the North united to make a martyr of him, and to proclaim that his positive action, in contrast to the futile wishing and talking of other abolitionists, had raised the issue of slavery so pointedly that it could no longer be ignored. Wendell Phillips pronounced the funeral oration; and though Friends would not approve John Brown's resort to violence to achieve his ends, they would share Phillips's admiration for his devotion to his duty as he saw it, and for the uncompromising militancy of spirit commemorated in the popular song:

> John Brown's body lies a-moldering in the grave;
> His soul goes marching on.

The volume contains an interesting account of the memorial celebration at the unveiling of the statue, reprinting the addresses made on the occasion and thus making much of the history of John Brown easily available. It is effectively illustrated with several half-tone plates, showing the statue of John Brown befriending a Negro boy, a fine portrait painting of John Brown, John Brown's home, and his grave, marked by a great boulder and a historical tablet. The *Postword* points out that the Association wishes to purchase letters and other objects connected with his life, which will be kept in the farm house as a public exhibit; and that the pedestal itself is not yet fully paid for. Contributions may be sent to H. W. Hicks, Lake Placid Club, New York.

Joseph P. Pollia, Sculptor

JOHN BROWN MEMORIAL STATUE

Dedicated at North Elba, New York, May 9, 1935

Reprinted through the courtesy of Mr. Zenas H. Ellis

HOWARD E. YARNALL, *The Great Powers and the Congo Conference in the Years 1884 and 1885.* [Dissertation submitted as part of the requirement for the doctor's degree.] Göttingen 1934. 86 pp.

This is a study of European diplomacy at the critical period when the Powers were working out their final policy with regard to appropriating the last considerable part of the earth that seemed still subject to appropriation. Briefly, the story is this:

Industrialized England realized, about 1870, that colonies could be made to pay instead of being a financial drain; and France and other Continental powers slowly awoke to the same idea. Stanley and other explorers publicized Africa; and England and Portugal made a treaty to assist each other in various ways in the Congo basin. The rest of Europe became alarmed; Germany, which had had no colonies, began to see her need of them; and ultimately a conference of the Great Powers was called in London in 1884-85. The motives of the conferees were sinister enough, and their attitude cynical. The chief aim of European foreign policy for some time had been the breaking down of tariffs and other impediments to exploitation which various Asiatic states had been able to erect. In Africa, there were as yet no states sufficiently organized to erect such barriers; the Powers were concerned that they never should be erected, and that they themselves, the Europeans, should not become embroiled with each other in their efforts to pursue their industrial-imperial policies. The subjugation and looting of Africa should go on in a spirit of friendly co-operation—among the looters.

Howard E. Yarnall has given a vivid narrative of the negotiations, with liberal references to his original sources. It is particularly interesting now, when the logical working out of the policies then formulated result in the invasion of Ethiopia by Italy—not, it would appear, for the commercial profit of the venture, but for the military glory and prestige.

A. NEAVE BRAYSHAW, *The Personality of George Fox.* London 1933. xx + 187 pages.

The well-known biographer Emil Ludwig, in writing the history of the life of a man, devotes a great deal of space to the portrayal of his subject's inner life, his essential personality—perhaps on the theory that the personality *is* the real man and therefore the most significant thing to discuss in telling of his life. A. Neave Brayshaw, in writing a book ostensibly on the personality of George Fox, though he says specifically in the *Prefatory Note* that the "work is . . . not a consecutive account of his life or an exposition of his teaching," has in fact told a great deal of the outer history of Fox's life, perhaps with the feeling that the inner life is significant only as it finds expression in action.

The fact that the biographer reaches over into the field of the interpreter of character, and *vice versa,* only shows how indispensable a knowledge of both aspects of a life is to an understanding of it. A fair

presentation of either aspect includes the other. And so A. Neave Brayshaw's book, which from its title would lead the reader to expect a treatise on the psychology of Fox, becomes in effect an illuminating commentary of the significant achievements of his life.

The book quotes, at the opening of a *Historical Introduction,* a passage from Rufus M. Jones's introduction to his own edition of Fox's Journal (*George Fox, an Autobiography,* Philadelphia 1903, pp. 24-25):

> It is a strange fact that though England had been facing religious problems of a most complex sort since the oncoming of the Reformation it had produced no religious genius. No one had appeared who saw truth on a new level, or who possessed a personality and a personal message which compelled the attention of the nation. . . . George Fox is the first real prophet of the Reformation, for he saw what was involved in this great religious movement.

The word "prophet" suggests what has long been recognized and becomes concretely clear as one reads Brayshaw's record, that Fox was one of those extraordinarily sensitive souls, responsive to spiritual forces about him, hovering closer perhaps than is usually safe to that dizzy border line between genius and insanity, but saved by his practical common sense and native wit and shrewdness from mental disaster. In the *Epilogue* (page 161) there is another quotation from Rufus M. Jones, summing up this fact of essential sanity in his life (quoted from R. M. Jones's *Introduction* to W. C. Braithwaite's *Beginnings of Quakerism,* London, 1903, pp. xxxii-xxxiii):

> It is surely a significant fact that, with all his sensitiveness of spirit, Fox never appears to have undergone any travail over his own sins, nor to have passed through that experience of conviction of sin which was such a common feature of the evangelical Christianity of his time. From this point of view we may consider his as a good instance of a life conforming to the true normal type—a life unfolding its moral and spiritual powers in harmonious parallelism with the development of its physical and mental powers—for the one ideally normal life which the world has seen was a Life which "increased in wisdom and stature and in favour with God and man." The element of sanity in Fox, the fixity of will and moral purpose, the spiritual earnestness amounting to an inward passion, the unswerving dedication of himself to the religious life, are surely to be reckoned with by any one who would understand his life, his quest, his discovery, or his mission.

The book opens with a bibliography of five or six pages of source books, biographies, interpretations, histories, etc., which the author quotes or has used; and then gives six pages of a chronological table of Fox's life—a very useful characteristic of any biographical study. Following these is the principal part of the book, the section, of 160 pages, entitled

The Personality of George Fox, an exposition in some sixty-two brief sections or paragraphs. It is customary in writing such a substantial book to group the material about a few focal points, or to divide the text into chapters; for in fact the course of a man's life seldom flows along with such a smooth and constant current that there are no climaxes, no resting points where the subject, and the reader, may pause and take stock before launching upon the next major achievement. In this book, however, the sections, varying in length from half a page to several pages, follow on one after another with no attempt at such grouping, each adding a trait to the total portrait which the author is building up, and in the end unfolding a remarkable picture.

While reading Ida M. Tarbell's life of Lincoln one is struck with the rarity of single incidents or episodes which taken alone would have marked Lincoln a great man. What one sees on the contrary is the slow patient building up by Lincoln, and by his biographer, of a character of essential greatness through a multitude of small acts not very conspicuous individually but consistently sound and true, and cumulatively irresistible. Much the same effect is produced in reading this book on Fox.

Not only in his own time, but even since, Fox has been placed at two opposite extremes by those whose interest he has caught. He has been belittled and abused as a psychological abnormality, an extreme case of a type of personality likely to be cast up by an extraordinarily agitated time; and has been held up as a divinely inspired prophet whose every act was an evidence of genius and saintliness. This book avoids both extremes, and is therefore able to treat with discernment the various pieces of evidence that are commonly adduced to justify either one. Thoroughly modern in its approach to psychological analysis, the author treats illuminatingly such difficult matters as Fox's neurotic outcry against Lichfield ("after taking off his shoes . . . he walked up and down the streets of the city on market day, crying 'Woe unto the bloody city of Lichfield' "), his psychic experiences and trances (pp. 76, 85), his visions (p. 92); and on the other hand he does justice to the devotion, the vital sincerity, and the power of penetrating spiritual insight of Fox without setting him apart from men as an unearthly prophet or saint.

Indeed, Brayshaw gives a very human portrait of a flesh-and-blood man, the total grandeur of whose life as a significant factor in the spiritual history of Europe we can understand as much by reference to such comprehensible traits as physical health and vigor, and persistent and capable devotion to the cause which his early efforts had brought into being, as by reference to a divine mission, a prophetic vision, or other necessarily vague notions.

May one venture to bring the portrait closer home? Fox's age was not unlike our own—we are not being shaken now, to be sure, by religious matters as they were then conceived; but we are still profoundly stirred in this decade, and by matters of vital import, which Fox could not have

passed by in silence. If our generation looking back sees only a misty, unreal, heroic figure who miraculously arose to meet the needs of an earlier day, we may be tempted to await passively a similar figure today—and wait in vain. It is as we see Fox in his humanity—his human littlenesses and human greatnesses—that we see the stuff of which prophets and leaders were really made, and can still be made; and we may perhaps be strengthened to do our part to answer a call that is as challenging as the call to which Fox responded.

A very comprehensive and appreciative account of Quakerism by Frank Mead appeared in the *Christian Herald* for September, 1935. It deals mainly with the social testimonies and with American Quakerism. Written under the title "Like a Mighty Army" and in a popular style it forms the seventh in a series of articles on the Protestant denominations that settled in the New World.

In his book *Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935), Professor W. S. Jenkins includes on pp. 7-12 an admirable though brief statement of the early Quaker antislavery position. His notes show a full mastery of the printed materials on the subject, including several items usually overlooked in this connection.

150 Years. Moorestown Friends' School, 1785-1935. So runs the cover of a well printed sesquicentennial pamphlet issued by the joint committee of both branches of Friends now in charge of the school. It contains a brief history of the school and "Suggested Aims."

The Story of Guilford College, though issued as a number of the Guilford College Bulletin, is a thorough and well written fifty-page illustrated history of New Garden Boarding School, 1837-1888, and Guilford College, 1888-1934, told by the History Committee and issued January 13, 1934, in preparation for the College's centennial. The financial and athletic as well as the academic history of the College is included. Contemporary quotations are effectively used and those who want more are offered a bibliography.

James Adams, the First Printer of Delaware, by Dorothy L. Hawkins (*The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America,* Vol. xxvii (1934), pp. 28-63) is an article of no small interest to Quaker book lovers. James Adams (c. 1725-1792), though not a Friend himself, printed at Wilmington dozens of Quaker books, as did his sons after him, and it was with him that the Quaker printer, Isaac Collins, was trained as apprentice. One of the first, if not the very first, of the pieces he printed was an uncataloged Quaker broadside, *The Advice of Evan Ellis, late of Chester county, deceased, to his daughter, when at sea* (1761).